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HISTORY OF THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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# HISTORY

OF THE

# CHRISTIAN CHURCH

FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE REFORMATION.

A.D. 64—1517.

✓  
BY JAMES C. ROBERTSON, M.A.,

CANON OF CANTERBURY,  
AND PROFESSOR OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY IN KING'S COLLEGE, LONDON.

*A NEW AND REVISED EDITION.*

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IN EIGHT VOLUMES.—VOL. I.

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## ADVERTISEMENT.

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THIS work was originally published in four large volumes, of which the first contained the history to the year 590; the second, to the Concordat of Worms; the third, to the death of Pope Boniface VIII; and the fourth, to the eve of the Reformation. The present is the sixth edition of the first portion, and the fourth edition of the second.

The whole has been carefully revised; and in sending the book forth in its new form, I would repeat, from the notice formerly prefixed to the concluding volume, the expression of my "heartly thankfulness that I have been allowed to carry it on so far, and that it has been found useful as an introduction to the knowledge of ecclesiastical history."

J. C. R.

PRECINCTS, CANTERBURY,

*October, 1873.*

"NIHIL A ME IGITUR, CARISSIME QUISQUIS ES, PRÆTER  
QUOD POLLICEOR EXIGAS, VIDELICET VERBIS PRO-  
LATAM COMMUNIBUS SIMPLICEM GESTORUM NARRA-  
TIONEM."

*Arnulfr. Mediolanensis*, i. 1. (Migne, Patrol. Lat. cxlviii. 288.)



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## LIST OF BOOKS CITED.

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[*This list is limited to such works as are cited throughout some considerable portion of the following pages, and has been drawn up in order to avoid the necessity of repeatedly quoting titles and specifying editions. Books which are cited in particular sections only will be found described in the proper places; and where (for reasons of temporary convenience) editions different from those here named have been used, the fact is expressly mentioned. In the case of works or documents which appear in more than one collection, a reference to a single collection has generally appeared sufficient.*]

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# HISTORY

OF

## THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH.

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### BOOK I.

FROM THE PERSECUTION OF THE CHURCH BY  
NERO TO CONSTANTINE'S EDICT OF TOLERA-  
TION, A.D. 64-313.

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### CHAPTER I.

#### THE APOSTOLIC AGE.

THE fulness of the time was come<sup>a</sup> when Christianity was proclaimed on earth. The way had been prepared for it, not only by that long system of manifest and special training which God had bestowed on his chosen people, but by the labours of Gentile thought, employing the highest powers in the search after truth, yet unable to satisfy man's natural cravings by revealing to him with certainty his origin and destiny, or by offering relief from the burdens of his soul. The Jews were looking eagerly for the speedy accomplishment of the promises made to their fathers; even among the Gentiles, vague prophecies and expectations of some

<sup>a</sup> Gal. iv. 4.

great appearance in the East were widely current.<sup>b</sup> The affairs of the world had been ordered for the furtherance of the Gospel; it was aided in its progress by the dispersion of the Jews, and by the vast extent of the Roman dominion.<sup>c</sup> From its birthplace, Jerusalem, it might be carried by pilgrims to the widely scattered settlements in which their race had found a home; and in these Jewish settlements its preachers found an audience to which they might address their first announcements with the reasonable hope of being understood. From Rome, where it early took root, it might be diffused by means of the continual intercourse which all the provinces of the empire maintained with the capital. It might accompany the course of merchandise and the movements of the legions.

We learn from the books of the New Testament, that within a few years from the day of Pentecost the knowledge of the faith was spread, by the preaching, the miracles, and the life of the apostles and their associates, through most of the countries which border on the Mediterranean sea. At Rome, before the city had been visited by any apostle, the number of Christians was already so great as to form several congregations in the different quarters.<sup>d</sup> Clement of Rome states that St. Paul himself, in the last period of his life, visited "the extremity of the West"<sup>e</sup>—an expression which may

<sup>b</sup> Sueton. Vespas. 4. See Merivale, Hist. Rom. i. 54, and for a full survey of the condition of the world, Döllinger, 'Heidenthum und Judenthum,' especially pp. 728-734.

<sup>c</sup> Orig. c. Celsum, ii. 30; Euseb. Demonstr. Evangel. iii. 7, pp. 139-40. Paris, 1628.

<sup>d</sup> Rom. xvi.

<sup>e</sup> ἐπὶ τὸ τέρμα τῆς δύσεως ἐλθὼν. Ad Cor. c. 5. See Bp. Jacobson's note on the passage, PP. Apostol. i.

27; Blunt, 55, 193; Lightfoot, pp. 49-51. Dr. Schaff, who supposes St. Paul's martyrdom to have followed immediately on his *first* imprisonment at Rome, adopts the conjecture of ὑπὸ for ἐπὶ from Wieseler, and understands the words to mean "having appeared before the highest authorities of the West" (346). But (1) although τέρμα may be used for *supreme authority*, there is no evidence that it can mean the *possessors* of such

be more probably interpreted of Spain (in accordance with the intention expressed in the Epistle to the Romans)<sup>f</sup> than of our own island, for which many have wished to claim the honour of a visit from the great teacher of the Gentiles. The early introduction of Christianity into Britain, however, appears more certain than the agency by which it was effected ; and the same remark will apply in other cases.

While St. Paul was engaged in the labours which are related in the Acts of the Apostles, his brethren were doubtless active in their several spheres, although no certain record of their exertions has been preserved. St. Peter is said to have founded the church of Antioch, and, after having presided over it for seven years, to have left Euodius as his successor, while he himself penetrated into Parthia and other countries of the East;<sup>g</sup> and it would seem more reasonable to understand the date of Babylon in his First Epistle (v. 13) as meaning the eastern city of that name than as a mystical designation of pagan Rome.<sup>h</sup> Yet notwithstanding this, and although we need not scruple to reject the idea of his having held, as a settled bishop, that see which claims universal supremacy as an inheritance from him,<sup>i</sup> it is not so much a spirit of sound criticism as a religious prejudice which has led some Protestant writers to deny that the apostle was ever at Rome,<sup>k</sup> where all ancient

authority, which is the sense required for this construction ; and (2) when found in connexion with *δύσεως* it must surely bear a geographical meaning. [Cf. Döllinger, 'Christenthum und Kirche,' 81. Dr. Schaff has kindly informed me that he has now given up Wieseler's conjecture. 1870.]

<sup>f</sup> xv. 28. See Nat. Alex. iv. 372.

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 1; Baron. 39. 18. Against the story of St. Peter's bishoprick at Antioch see Burton, i.

119; Heinichen in Euseb. iii. 36 (t. i. p. 272).

<sup>h</sup> See Wiltsch, 'Kirchliche Geographie u. Statistik,' i. 17; Alford, Prolegg. to 1. Pet. sect. 4; Pressensé, i. 73-4. [Dr. von Döllinger takes the opposite view. Chr. u. Kirche, 99.]

<sup>i</sup> See Barrow, 185-214.

<sup>k</sup> See Pearson, Minor Works, ii. 327-341; Barrow, 188; Thiersch, i. 90-3 Alford, Prolegg. to 1. Pet. sect. 2.

testimony represents him to have suffered, together with St. Paul, in the reign of Nero.<sup>1</sup> St. Bartholomew is said to have preached in India and Arabia;<sup>m</sup> St. Andrew in Scythia;<sup>n</sup> St. Matthew and St. Matthias in Ethiopia.<sup>o</sup> St. Philip (whether the deacon or the apostle is uncertain) is supposed to have settled at Hierapolis in Phrygia.<sup>p</sup> The church of Alexandria traced itself to St. Mark; that of Milan, but with less warrant,<sup>q</sup> to St. Barnabas. The church of Edessa is said to have been founded by St. Thaddeus; and this might perhaps be more readily believed if the story were not connected with a manifestly spurious correspondence between our Saviour and Abgarus, king of that region.<sup>r</sup> St. Thomas is reported to have preached in Parthia<sup>s</sup> and in India; the Persian church claimed him for its founder, and the native church of Malabar advances a similar claim. But the name of India was so vaguely used that little can be safely inferred from the ancient notices which connect it with the labours of St. Thomas; and the more probable opinion appears to be that the Christianity of Malabar owes its origin to the Nestorian missionaries of the fifth century, who, by carrying with them from Persia the name of the apostle of that country, laid the foundation of the local tradition.<sup>t</sup> The African church, which afterwards became so prominent in history, has been fabulously traced to St. Peter, and to St. Simon Zelotes; but nothing is known of it with certainty until the last years of the second century, and the

<sup>1</sup> *E.g.*, Euseb. ii. 25; Orig. in Gen. t. iii., cited *ib.* iii. 1; Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 1. See Pusey, n. on Tertullian, i. 471; Alford, Prolegg. to 1 Pet. sect. 2; Lightfoot on Clem. Rom. pp. 46-7. Bp. Pearson (Minor Works, i. 396) places their martyrdom in A.D. 67 or 68; Mr. Clinton in A.D. 65 (Fasti Rom. i. 47); Dr. Schaff and others (see p. 2 n.<sup>c</sup>) in A.D. 64.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. v. 10.

<sup>n</sup> *ib.* iii. 1.

<sup>o</sup> See Tillem. i. 391, 400.

<sup>p</sup> Polycrat. ap. Euseb. v. 23.

<sup>q</sup> Tillem. i. 657.

<sup>r</sup> Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. i. 13; ii. 1.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. iii. 1.

<sup>t</sup> See Neander, i. 112-14; Milman note on Gibbon, iv. 381; Wiltsh, i. 19; Hough, 'Christianity in India,' i. 30-42 (Lond. 1839); Neumann, 'Gesch. d. englischen Reichs in Asien,' ii. 279 (Leipz. 1857).

Christianity of Africa was most probably derived from Rome by means of teachers whose memory has perished.<sup>u</sup>

There may be too much hardness in rejecting traditions, as well as too great easiness in receiving them. Where it is found that a church existed, and that it referred its origin to a certain person, the mere fact that the person in question was as likely as any other to have been the founder, or perhaps more likely than any other, can surely be no good reason for denying the claim. We have before us, on the one hand, remarkable works, and on the other, distinguished names; and although tradition may be wrong in connecting the names with the works, it is an unreasonable scepticism to insist on separating them without examination and without exception.

The persecution by Nero is one of the circumstances in our early history which are attested by the independent evidence of heathen writers. It has been supposed that Christianity had once before attracted the notice of the imperial government; for it is inferred from a passage in Suetonius that disturbances among the Roman Jews on the subject of Christ had been the occasion of the edict by which Claudius banished them from Rome.\* But the persecution under Nero was more distinctly directed against the Christians, on whom the emperor affected to lay the guilt of having set fire to the city. Some were sewn up in the skins of wild beasts, and exposed to be torn by dogs; some were crucified; others were covered with a dress which had been smeared with pitch, and was then set on fire, so that the victims served as torches to illuminate the emperor's gardens, while he regaled the populace with the exhibition of chariot-races, in which he himself took part. Tacitus, in

<sup>u</sup> Münter, 'Primordia Eccl. Africane,' cc. 3-4. (Copenh. 1829.)

Guericke, i. 122. See Merivale, Hist. Rom. vi. 263.

\* Acts xviii. 2; Sueton. Claud. 25;

relating these atrocities, states that, although the charge of incendiarism was disbelieved, the Christians were unpopular as followers of an unsocial superstition ; but that the infliction of such tortures on them raised a general feeling of pity.<sup>y</sup> As to the extent of this persecution (which has been a subject of dispute) the most probable opinion appears to be that it had no official sanction beyond the immediate neighbourhood of the capital ; but the display of Nero's enmity against the Christian name must doubtless have affected the condition of the obnoxious community throughout the provinces of the empire.<sup>z</sup>

Until the destruction of Jerusalem by Titus, the capital of God's ancient people, the birthplace of the church, had naturally been regarded by A.D. 77. Christians as a religious centre. It was the scene of the apostolic council, held under the presidency of its bishop, St. James "the Just."<sup>a</sup> And, as the embracing of the Gospel was not considered to detach converts of Hebrew race from the temple-worship and other Mosaic observances, Jerusalem had continued to be a resort for such converts, including the apostles themselves, at the seasons of the great Jewish festivals. But the destruction of the temple and of the holy city put an end to this connexion. It was the final proof that God was no longer with the Israel after the flesh ; that the Mosaic

<sup>y</sup> Annal. xv. 44. See on the passage, Merivale, vi. 169, 274. Dean Merivale supposes that the persecution was directed against "the turbulent Jews, notorious for their appeals to the name of Christ as an expected prince or leader ;" that these "sought to implicate the true disciples, known to them and hated by them ;" and that our historians, misled by the use of the name of Christ, "too readily imagined that the persecution was directed against the Christians only."

<sup>z</sup> Mosheim, Instit. Majores, 124-6 ; Milman, n. on Gibbon, i. 546 ; Schäff, i. 351. See Rose, 'Christianity always Progressive,' 139-40, Cambr. 1829. Notices of martyrs who are said to have suffered in various countries during this persecution may be found in Tillemont, ii. 75-7.

<sup>a</sup> Acts xv. For the identity of the bishop of Jerusalem with the apostle St. James the Less, see Dr. Mill's essay on 'Our Lord's Brethren,' Cambridge, 1843.



system had fulfilled its work, and had passed away.<sup>b</sup> At the approach of the besieging army, the Christian community, seeing in this the accomplishment of their Master's warning, had withdrawn beyond the Jordan to the mountain town of Pella. The main body of them returned after the siege, and established themselves among the ruins, under Symeon, who had been raised to the bishoprick on the martyrdom of St. James, some years before;<sup>c</sup> but the church of Jerusalem no longer stood in its former relation of superiority to other churches.<sup>d</sup>

Christianity, as it was not the faith of any nation, had not, in the eyes of Roman statesmen, a claim to admission among the religions allowed by law (*religiones licitæ*); it must, indeed, have refused such a position, if it were required to exist contentedly and without aggression by the side of systems which it denounced as false and ruinous; and thus its professors were always exposed to the capricious enmity of rulers who might think fit to proceed against them. Thirty years after the time of Nero, a new persecution of the church, wider in its reach, although of less severity<sup>e</sup> than the A.D. 95-6.\* former, was instituted by Domitian. The banishment of St. John to Patmos, where he saw the visions recorded in the last book of Holy Scripture, has generally been referred to this persecution.<sup>g</sup> Nor does there appear to

<sup>b</sup> Orig. c. Cels. iv. 2; Just. Mart., Dial. c. Tryph. 52.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. iii. 11; Tillem. ii. 187, 575.

<sup>d</sup> Giesel. I. i. 126-9.

<sup>e</sup> This is Tillemont's date, ii. 118, 522. Comp. Clinton, p. 80. Baronius and others place the beginning four years earlier.

<sup>f</sup> Blunt, 228.

<sup>g</sup> So Irenæus adv. Hæreses, v. 30. Many modern German writers refer

the Apocalypse to an earlier date, such as the time of Nero's persecution. (See Gieseler, I. i. 127; Guericke, i. 97.) Hase would refer it, not to any exile in Patmos, but to a voluntary residence there in the reign of Galba (38); but Hengstenberg, Ebrard (Comment über d. Offenbarung, 131) and Schaff (i. 406-8) maintain the older view, in favour of which see Dean Alford's Prolegomena to the Revelation (Gr. Test. iv. 230-6, ed. 1).

be any good reason for disbelieving the story that the emperor, having been informed that some descendants of the house of David were living in Judæa, ordered them to be brought before him, as he apprehended a renewal of the attempts at rebellion which had been so frequent among their nation. They were two grandchildren of St. Jude—the “brother” of our Lord, as he is called. They showed their hands, rough and horny from labour, and gave such answers as proved them to be simple countrymen, not likely to engage in any plots against the state; whereupon they were dismissed.<sup>h</sup> The persecution did not last long. Domitian, before his assassination, had given orders that it should cease, and that the Christians who had been banished should be permitted to return to their homes;<sup>i</sup> and the reign of his successor, Nerva (A.D. 96-8), who restored their confiscated property,<sup>k</sup> was a season of rest for the church.

St. John alone of the apostles survived to the reign of Trajan.<sup>l</sup> Of his last years, which were spent in the superintendence of the Ephesian church,<sup>m</sup> some traditions have been preserved, which, if they cannot absolutely demand our belief, have at least a sufficient air of credibility to deserve a respectful consideration. One of these is a pleasing story of his recovering to the way of righteousness a young man who, after having been

The stories of the apostle's having been plunged into a caldron of boiling oil (Tert. de Præscr. 36) and of his having drunk a cup of poison without receiving any hurt (Soliloq. Animæ, c. 22, ap. Augustin. t. vi. Ap. pend.), are supposed by Gieseler (I. i. 139) to have arisen from a desire to realise St. Matth. xx. 23. Comp. Olshausen, Commentar. ii. 590, ed. 3. Prof. Blunt is inclined to believe the miraculous deliverance from the caldron. 69.

<sup>h</sup> Hegesippus, ap. Euseb. iii. 20. See Dr. Routh's notes on the passage, Reliq. Sacræ, i. 249, seqq.

<sup>i</sup> Tertull. Apol. 5; Euseb. iii. 20. See Mosh. 112.

<sup>k</sup> Dio Cassius, lxxviii. init.

<sup>l</sup> Irenæus, II. xxii. 5; Clinton, A.D. 100. See, as to St. John, Mill's 'Sermons on the Nature of Christianity,' Append. B. (Cambr. 1848).

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. iii. 1; Hieron. de VV Illustr. 9 (Patrol. xxiii.).



distinguished by the apostle's notice and interest, had fallen into vicious courses, and had become captain of a band of robbers.<sup>a</sup> Another tradition relates that, when too feeble to enter the church without assistance, or to utter many words, he continually addressed his flock with the charge—"Little children, love one another;" and that when some of them ventured to ask the reason of a repetition which they found wearisome, he answered, "Because it is the Lord's commandment, and, if this only be performed, it is enough."<sup>o</sup> And it is surely a very incomplete view of the apostle's character which would reject as inconsistent with it the story of his having rushed out of a public bath in horror and indignation on finding it to be polluted by the presence of the heretic Cerinthus.<sup>p</sup>

Of the writings ascribed to this age, but which have not been admitted into the canon of the New Testament, the First Epistle of St. Clement is the only one which is generally received as genuine. The author, who was anciently supposed to be the Clement mentioned by St. Paul in his Epistle to the Philippians (iv. 3), was bishop of Rome towards the end of the century.<sup>q</sup> His epistle, of which the chief object is to recommend humility and peace, was written in consequence of some dissensions in the Corinthian church, of which no other record is preserved, but which were probably later than

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Alex., Quis Div. salv. 42; Euseb. iii. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Hieron. in Galat. vi. 10. (Patrol. xxvi. 433).

<sup>p</sup> Irenæus, III. iii. 4. (Comp. St. John, Epp. ii.-iii.) Epiphanius names Ebion instead of Cerinthus. Hær. xxx. 24.

<sup>q</sup> The identity has been questioned in later times. (See, *e.g.*, Döllinger, Christ. u. Kirche, 321; Donaldson, i. 95. I do not venture to enter into

the controversy as to the succession of the earliest bishops of Rome. Some of our divines (as Thorndike, i. 25, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib., and Hammond, Minor Works, ib. 238) suppose that at Rome, as at Antioch, there were at first one line of bishops for the Jewish and another for the Gentile Christians. But see Pearson's Dissertation, ii. cc. 4-5, in Minor Works, vol. ii. pp. 449-460; Döllinger, 325.

Domitian's persecution.<sup>r</sup> The Second Epistle ascribed to Clement, and two letters 'To Virgins,' which exist in a Syriac version, are rejected by most critics; and the other writings with which Clement's name is connected are undoubtedly spurious.<sup>s</sup> The Epistle which bears the name of St. Barnabas (although it does not claim him for its author<sup>t</sup>), and the 'Shepherd' of Hermas,<sup>u</sup> are

<sup>r</sup> Rothe supposes it written during a vacancy of the see of Corinth, in which a democratic party rebelled against the presbyters. So Thiersch, 343-4. Against this, see Uhlhorn, in Herzog, ii. 727, who refers it to a time before the persecution, (726-7), and Dr. Lightfoot, 126. The date has been variously fixed at A.D. 67-8, and at 96-7. See Donaldson, i. 105, and Lightfoot, 5, 33, 45, who both date it in Domitian's time.

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Lightfoot, in his Introduction to the so-called Second Epistle, refers it to the early part of the second century. In favour of the two Syriac letters, see Card. Villecourt's Preface (Patrol. Gr. i.); against them, Neander, ii. 408; cf. Lightf. 15-17. The Clementine Homilies and 'Recognitions' are supposed to be the work of an Ebionite of the party inclining to Gnosticism. (See Neander, i. 493; Schliemann, 'Die Clementinen;' Uhlhorn, in Herzog, ii. 722, seqq., 750, seqq.) On the Apostolical Canons and Constitutions (with which also the name of Clement is connected), see Beveridge, 'Cod. Canon. Vindictatus;' Fabric., 'Bibl. Gr.' vii. 24, seqq.; Krabbe, 'Ursprung u. Inhalt d. Apost. Constitutionen,' Hamb. 1829; v. Drey, 'Neue Untersuchungen über die Const. u. Kanones der Apostel,' Tübing. 1832; Gieseler, I. i. 356; Hefele, Append. to vol. i.; K. F. Jacobson, in Herzog, art. *Apostol. Canones u. Constitutiones*.

<sup>t</sup> Neander considers this epistle to be the work of a converted Alexan-

drian Jew, and written in a tone "more consonant with the spirit of Philo than that of St. Paul, or even of the Epistle to the Hebrews" (ii. 406). It has been referred by some to the reign of Hadrian. (Keble, in 'Tracts for the Times,' No. 89, p. 16.) Guericke is in favour of its genuineness (i. 211); and I have been somewhat surprised by finding that Gieseler is of the same opinion. (I. i. 146.) For a list of authorities on each side see Schliemann, 415; Heberle, in Herzog, art. *Barnabas*.

<sup>u</sup> This is ascribed to the Hermas who is mentioned in Rom. xvi. 14, and it would seem that the author, by speaking of Clement as a contemporary, wished to be identified with that Hermas. It has also been attributed to a person of the same name, who is said to have been brother of Pius I., bishop of Rome (about A.D. 150), but is not otherwise known. Neander remarks that the respect paid to it by writers very near that period (such as Irenæus and Clement of Alexandria, whose testimonies are collected in Patrol. Gr. ii. 820), "can hardly be reconciled with the hypothesis of so late an origin" (ii. 411). Perhaps it belongs to the interval between the first and the second Hermas. (See Hase, 42; Pressensé, ii. 421; Herzog, v. 774-5; Donaldson, i. 266.) Bp. Hefele and others suppose it to contain references to the heresy of Montanus (see below ch. v.)—the rise of which he dates about 140 (i. 71). Cf. Donaldson, i. 269.

probably works of the earlier half of the second century.

Before leaving the apostolic age a few words must be said on the subject of church-government, while some other matters of this time may be better reserved for notice at such points of the later history as may afford us a view of their bearings and consequences.

With respect, then, to the government of the earliest church, the most important consideration appears to be, that the Christian ministry was developed, not from below, but from above. We do not find that the first members of it raised some from among their number to a position higher than the equality on which they had all originally stood ; but, on the contrary, that the apostles, having been at first the sole depositaries of their Lord's commission, with all the powers which it conferred, afterwards delegated to others, as their substitutes, assistants, or successors, such portions of their powers as were capable of being transmitted, and as were necessary for the continuance of the church. In this way were appointed, first, the order of deacons, for the discharge of secular administrations and of the lower spiritual functions ; next, that of presbyters, elders, or bishops, for the ordinary care of congregations ; and, lastly, the highest powers of ordination and government were in like manner imparted, as the apostles began to find that their own body was, from its smallness, unequal to the local superintendence of the growing church, and as the advance of age warned them to provide for the coming times. An advocate of the episcopal theory of apostolic succession is under no necessity of arguing that there must needs have been three orders in the ministry, or that there need have been more than one. It is enough to say that those to whom the apostles conveyed the full powers of the Christian ministry were not the deacons,

nor the presbyters, but (in the later meaning of the word) the bishops ; and the existence of the inferior orders, as subject to these, is a simple matter of history.

Resting on the fact that the apostles were, during their lives on earth, the supreme regulating authorities of the church, we may disregard a multitude of questions which have been made to tell against the theories of an episcopal polity, of a triple ministry, or of any ministry whatever as distinguished from the great body of Christians. We need not here inquire at what time and by what steps the title of bishop, which had originally been common to the highest and the second orders, came to be applied exclusively to the former ; nor whether functions originally open to all Christian men were afterwards restricted to a particular class ; nor in how far the inferior orders of the clergy, or the whole body of the faithful, may have at first shared in the administration of government and discipline ; nor whether the commissions given by St. Paul to Timothy and to Titus were permanent or only occasional ; nor at what time the system of fixed diocesan bishops was introduced. We do not refuse to acknowledge that the organization of the church was gradual ; we are only concerned to maintain that it was directed by the apostles (probably acting on instructions committed to them by their Master during the interval between his resurrection and his ascension),<sup>2</sup> and that in all essential points it was completed before their departure.

It is evident that the ministers of the church, beginning with St. Matthias, were usually chosen by the body of believers ; but it seems equally clear that it was the apostolical ordination which gave them their commission—that commission being derived from the Head of the

<sup>2</sup> Blunt, p. 24.

church, who had bestowed it on the apostles, that they might become the channels for conveying it to others.<sup>†</sup>

Of the universal supremacy of the bishop of Rome it is unnecessary here to speak. In this stage of church-history it is a matter not for the narrator but for the controversialist; if, indeed, the theories as to the "development" of Christianity, which have lately been devised in the interest of the Papacy, may not be regarded as dispensing even the controversial opponents of Rome from the necessity of proving that, in the earliest times of the church, no such supremacy was known or imagined.

## CHAPTER II.

### THE REIGNS OF TRAJAN AND HADRIAN.

A.D. 98-138

CHRISTIANITY was no longer to be confounded with Judaism. The great majority of the converts were of Gentile race; and the difference of manners and observances between the followers of the two religions was such as could not be overlooked when exhibited in large bodies of persons. But still the newer system was regarded as an offshoot of the older; its adherents were exposed to all the odium of a Jewish sect. Indeed, the Christian religion must have appeared the more objectionable of the two, since it not only was exclusive, but,

<sup>†</sup> See Rothe, 'Anfänge der Christlichen Kirche' (who supposes episcopacy, properly so called, to have been established by the surviving apostles

after the fall of Jerusalem); Thiersch, 258, seqq.; Bp. Kaye, 'Government and Discipline of the Church,' 26-43; Blunt on the Fathers, Ser. ii. Lect. 7

instead of being merely or chiefly national, it claimed the allegiance of all mankind.<sup>a</sup>

Strange and horrible charges began to be current against the Christians.<sup>b</sup> The secrecy of their meetings for worship was ascribed, not to its true cause, the fear of persecution, but to a consciousness of abominations which could not bear the light. "Thyestean banquets," promiscuous intercourse of the sexes, and magical rites were popularly imputed to them.<sup>c</sup> The Jews were especially industrious in inventing and propagating such stories,<sup>d</sup> while some of the heretical parties, which now began to vex the church, both brought discredit on the Christian name by their own practices, and were forward to join in the work of slander and persecution against the faithful.<sup>e</sup> And, no

<sup>a</sup> Planck, i. 58.

<sup>b</sup> Perhaps the charge mentioned by Minucius Felix (9) and by Tertullian (Apol. 16) of worshipping the head of an ass, was as old as the reign of Hadrian, to which antiquaries seem disposed to refer a rude sketch of a man worshipping a crucified human figure with an ass's head, found in the palace of the Cæsars in 1856, and now preserved in the Kircherian Museum at Rome (see 'Edinb. Review,' cx. 435-7; Bp. Wordsworth, 'Tour in Italy,' ii. 142, seqq., ed. 1, Lond. 1863; Liddon, Bampton Lectures, ed. 2, pp. 396-8.) The Rev. C. W. King says very positively that this, although "usually looked upon as a heathen blasphemy, because the jackal's head is taken for the head of an ass," . . . was "really the work of some pious Gnostic"—the jackal signifying Anubis who in some Gnostic systems was identified with the Saviour. ('The Gnostics and their Remains,' p. 90.) But if so, how are we to account for the introduction of the worshipping figure, and for the inscription *Ἀλεξάμενος σεβετε* [*i.e.* *σέβεται*] *θεον*? The intention seems clearly to have been to ridicule the religion of

Alexamenus; and the idea that the head is meant for that of a jackal is merely an inference from Mr. King's theory. Dr. Herzog suggests that the Jews, who were themselves charged with worshipping an image of an ass (Tacit. Hist. v. 4; see Tertull. Apolog. 16), may have been the first to transfer this reproach to the Christians: Art. *Asinari*.

<sup>c</sup> Justin. Mart. Apol. I. 26. The charge of Thyestean feasts is traced to the misunderstanding of the heathens, who, in endeavouring to get information from the slaves of Christians, could only discover that these had heard their masters speak of eating the Saviour's body and drinking his blood. (Irenæus, Fragm. t. i. p. 852). See Minucius Felix, 'Octavius,' cc. 9, seqq., 28-32; Athenagor. 'Legatio pro Christianis,' 3, seqq.; Theophil. ad. Autolyc. iii. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. 17; Orig. c. Cels. vi. 27.

<sup>e</sup> Burton, i. 310; Pusey, n. on Tertullian, i. 5. Clement of Alexandria charges the Carpocratians with the abominations which were falsely imputed to the church. Strom. iii. 2 u 514.



doubt, among the orthodox themselves there must have been some by whom the Gospel had been so misconceived that their behaviour towards those without the church was repulsive and irritating, so as to give countenance to the prejudices which regarded the faith of Christ as a gloomy and unsocial superstition.<sup>f</sup>

It is a question whether at this time there were any laws of the Roman empire against Christianity. On the one hand, it has been maintained that those of Nero and Domitian had been repealed;<sup>g</sup> on the other hand, Tertullian<sup>h</sup> states that, although all the other acts of Nero were abrogated, those against the Christians still remained; and the records of the period convey the idea that the profession of the Gospel was legally punishable. Even if it was no longer condemned by any special statute, it fell under the general law which prohibited all such religions as had not been formally sanctioned by the state.<sup>i</sup> And this law, although it might usually be allowed to slumber, could at any time have been enforced; not to speak of the constant danger from popular tumults, often incited by persons who felt that their calling was at stake—priests, soothsayers, statuaries, players, gladiators, and others who depended for a livelihood on the worship of the heathen gods, or on spectacles which the Christians abhorred.<sup>k</sup>

Trajan, the successor of Nerva, although not free from serious personal vices,<sup>l</sup> was long regarded by the Romans as the ideal of an excellent prince; centuries after his death, the highest wish that could be framed for the salutation of

<sup>f</sup> Neand. i. 126.

<sup>g</sup> Mosh. 231; Gibbon, i. 550.

<sup>h</sup> Apol. 6; Ad Nationes, i. 7. See Blunt on the Fathers, 341-5.

<sup>i</sup> See Tillemont, ii. 168; and note on Mosh. i. 133. Comp. Bp. Kaye on Tertullian, 109, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> Tzschirner, 'Der Fall des Heidenthums,' 227. Comp. Tertull. Apol. 42-3. A lively view of this professional enmity is given by Prof. Blunt, c. viii.

<sup>l</sup> Tillem. Hist. des Emp. iii. 184

a new emperor was a prayer that he might be "more fortunate than Augustus, and better than Trajan."<sup>m</sup> In the history of the church, however, Trajan appears to less advantage. Early in his reign he issued an edict against guilds or clubs,<sup>n</sup> apprehending that they might become dangerous to the state; and it is easy to imagine how this edict might be turned against the Christians—a vast brotherhood, extending through all known countries both within and beyond the empire, bound together by intimate ties, maintaining a lively intercourse and communication with each other, and having much that seemed to be mysterious both in their opinions and in their practice.<sup>o</sup>

In this reign falls the martyrdom of the venerable Symeon, the kinsman of our Lord, brother (or perhaps cousin)<sup>p</sup> of James the Just, and his successor in the see of Jerusalem. It is said that some heretics denounced him to the proconsul Atticus as a Christian and a descendant of David. During several days the aged bishop endured a variety of tortures with a constancy which astonished the beholders; and at last he was crucified at the age of a hundred and twenty.<sup>q</sup>

A curious and interesting contribution to the church-history of the time is furnished by the correspondence of the younger Pliny.<sup>r</sup> Pliny had been sent as proconsul into Pontus and Bithynia, a region of mixed population,

<sup>m</sup> Gibbon, i. 82; Guntherii 'Ligurius,' iii. 443-5 (Patrol. ccxii.).

<sup>n</sup> "Secundum mandata tua, hetærias esse veteram." Plin. ad Traj. Ep. x. 97. See Ep. x. 36; Augusti, viii. 76; Merivale, vii. 263.

<sup>o</sup> The additional ground of apprehension stated by Baronius (100. 9),—that they were subject to one central head,—appears to have been a discovery of later date.

<sup>p</sup> See Alford, vol. iv. ed. 1, Prolegg. p. 91.

<sup>q</sup> Hegesipp. ap. Euseb. iii. 32. The

date was A.D. 107, according to most authorities; 104 according to Burton, ii. 17; while Mosheim (234) places it so late as 116. The addition of Hegesippus, that Symeon's accusers were themselves put to death as descendants of David, has a fabulous air.

<sup>r</sup> Epp. x. 97-8. The genuineness of these letters has, of course, been denied, but seemingly without any good grounds. (See Herzog, xvi. 301.) They are referred by Pagi to the years 111-112; by Mr. Clinton to 104. Dean Merivale seems to prefer 112. vii. 362.



partly Asiatic and partly Greek, with a considerable infusion of Jews.<sup>s</sup> That the Gospel had early found an entrance into those countries appears from the address of St. Peter's First Epistle ;<sup>t</sup> and its prevalence there in the second century is confirmed by the testimony of the heathen Lucian.<sup>u</sup> The circumstances of Pliny's government forced on him the consideration of a subject which had not before engaged his attention. Perhaps, as has been conjectured,<sup>w</sup> the first occasion which brought the new religion under his notice may have been the celebration of Trajan's *Quindecennalia*—the fifteenth anniversary of his adoption as the heir of the empire ; for solemnities of this kind were accompanied by pagan rites, in which it was unlawful for Christians to share.

The proconsul was perplexed by the novelty of the circumstances with which he had to deal. He found that the temples of the national religion were almost deserted ; that the persons accused of Christianity were very numerous ; that they were of every age, of both sexes, of all ranks, and were found not only in the towns, but in villages and country places. Pliny was uncertain as to the state of the laws,<sup>x</sup> and in his difficulty he applied to the emperor for instructions. He states the course which he had pursued : he had questioned the accused repeatedly ; of those who persisted in avowing themselves Christians, he had ordered some to be put to death, and had reserved others, who were entitled to the privileges of Roman citizens, with the intention of sending them to the capital. "I had no doubt," he says, "that, whatever they might confess, wilfulness and inflexible

<sup>s</sup> Milman, ii. 140.

<sup>t</sup> Comp. Acts ii. 9.

<sup>u</sup> Lucian, 'Alexander,' c. 25 (t. ii. ed. Hemsterh.) ; Mosh. 219.

<sup>w</sup> By Pagi, ii. 31. See Milman, ii. 141 ; Burton, ii. 40.

<sup>x</sup> Hence Gibbon (i. 550) infers that there were no laws by which the Christians could be punished ; but see for the contrary, Milman, i. 141-3 ; Blunt, 159, 230.

obstinacy ought to be punished." Many who were anonymously accused had cleared themselves by invoking the gods, by offering incense to the statues of these and of the emperor, and by cursing the name of Christ. Some, who had at first admitted the charge, afterwards declared that they had abandoned Christianity three, or even twenty, years before ;<sup>y</sup> yet the governor was unable to extract from these anything to the discredit of the faith which they professed to have forsaken. They stated that they had been in the habit of meeting before dawn on certain days ; that they sang alternately a hymn<sup>z</sup> to Christ as God. Instead of the expected disclosures as to seditious engagements, licentious orgies, and unnatural feasts, Pliny could only find that they bound themselves by an oath to abstain from theft, adultery, and breach of promise or trust ;<sup>a</sup> and that at a second meeting, later in the day, they partook in common of a simple and innocent meal (the *agape* or *love-feast*, which was connected with the eucharist). He put two deaconesses<sup>b</sup> to the torture ; but even this cruelty failed to draw forth evidence of anything more criminal than a "perverse and immoderate superstition." In these circumstances Pliny asks the emperor with what penalties

<sup>y</sup> The period of twenty years probably refers to the persecution under Domitian. (Pagi, ii. 31.) The equivocal behaviour of these persons leaves it doubtful whether they really apostatized, or whether they used the license which was sanctioned by some heretical sects (see below, c. iv.) and disavowed their belief in order to escape danger.

<sup>z</sup> "Carmen . . . dicere secum invicem." I cannot think that the current charges against the Christians prove the word *carmen* here to mean a *charm*, as is said by Dr. Newman, 'Essay on Development,' 225.

<sup>a</sup> This, although represented as a part

of the ordinary worship, may probably be understood to refer to the baptismal vow. Bishop Beveridge (Cod. Canon. Vindic. l. II. c. iii. § 7) supposes "sacramentum" here to mean the eucharist ; but the following words seem to show that the eucharistic service was in the evening. Tertullian, in referring to this passage, says, "ad confœderandam disciplinam" (Apol. 2) ; and Augusti understands the reading and application of Scriptures which forbid the sins in question. iv. 35.

<sup>b</sup> "Ancillis, quæ ministræ dicebantur." See Augusti, iv. 30.

Christianity shall be visited; whether it shall be punished as in itself a crime, or only when found in combination with other offences; whether any difference shall be made between the treatment of the young and tender, and that of the more robust culprits; and whether a recantation shall be admitted as a title to pardon. He concludes by stating that the measures already taken had recovered many worshippers for the lately deserted temples, and by expressing the belief that a wise and moderate policy would produce far more numerous reconversions.

Trajan, in his answer, approves of the measures which Pliny had reported to him. He prefers intrusting the governor with a large discretionary power to laying down a rigid and uniform rule for all cases. The Christians, he says, are not to be sought out; if detected and convicted, they are to be punished; but a denial of Christ is to be admitted as clearing the accused, and no anonymous informations are to be received against them.

The policy indicated in these letters has been assailed by the sarcasm of Tertullian,<sup>c</sup> and his words have often been echoed and quoted with approbation by later writers—forgetful that the conduct of Trajan and his minister ought to be estimated, not by the standard either of true religion or of strict and consistent reasoning, but as that of heathen statesmen. We may deplore the insensibility which led these eminent men to set down our faith as a wretched fanaticism, instead of being drawn by the moral beauty of the little which they were able to ascertain into a deeper inquiry, which might have ended in their own conversion. We may dislike the merely political view which, without taking any cog-

<sup>c</sup> "O sententiam necessitate confusam! negat inquirendos, ut innocentes:

et mandat puniendos, ut nocentes," etc. Apol. 2.

nizance of religious truth, regarded religion only as an affair of state, and punished dissent from the legal system as a crime against the civil authority. We may pity the blindness which was unable to discern the inward and spiritual strength of Christianity, and supposed that a judicious mixture of indulgence and severity would in no long time extinguish it. But if we fairly consider the position from which Trajan and Pliny were obliged to regard the question, instead of joining in the apologist's complaints against the logical inconsistency of their measures, we shall be unable to refuse the praise of wise liberality to the system of conniving at the existence of the new religion, unless when it should be so forced on the notice of the government as to compel the execution of the laws.<sup>d</sup>

Under Trajan took place the martyrdom of Ignatius<sup>e</sup>—one of the most celebrated facts in early church-history, not only on its own account, but because of the interest attached to the epistles which bear the name of

<sup>d</sup> See Schröckh, ii. 335; Neand. i. 136; Merivale, vii. 362-5.

<sup>e</sup> It is placed by Ussher, Tillemont, and Burton in 107; by Henschen in 108 (*Acta* §§. Feb. 1, p. 19); by Baronius in 110; by Mr. Clinton in 115. Pagi (ii. 45-8) says that it cannot have been earlier than 112, and inclines to date it in 116, which is the year given by Pearson, Lloyd, Grabe, Schröckh, and Gieseler. Mosheim, who gives the latest of these dates, and refers the martyrdom of Symeon to the same year, begs the question of chronological order by saying that the rescript of Trajan to Pliny became the law of the empire, and that these were instances of its being enforced (234-5). It would be more correct to say that they were in conformity with the principles laid down in the rescript; which might have been

the case, although they were earlier in date than it. It is, however, difficult to reconcile the tone of the Bithynian letters with the supposition that the death of Ignatius—sentenced by the emperor in person—had taken place before. If the condemnation of Ignatius was in 116, an earthquake which had done great injury at Antioch in 115 may help to account for a popular excitement against the Christians at that time. On the whole, I have preferred a late date; but for this it is necessary to suppose the Acts of the martyrdom to be interpolated in the passage which refers it to the consulship of Sura and Senecio (A.D. 107). See, as to the difficulties of the case, Merivale, vii. 366-7, and compare *De Rossi*, who is for 107. *Inscr.* i. 6-7.

the venerable bishop.<sup>f</sup> The birthplace of Ignatius is matter of conjecture, and his early history is unknown. He is described as a hearer of St. John;<sup>g</sup> and he was raised to the bishoprick of Antioch, as the successor of Euodius, about the year 70. For nearly half a century he had governed that church, seated in the capital of

<sup>f</sup> The history of these must be shortly stated. Until the middle of the seventeenth century, besides some epistles which existed only in Latin, and were undoubtedly spurious, there were *twelve* in Greek, which laboured under great suspicion of forgery or interpolation. (See *Centur. Magd.* ii. 127-8). Archbishop Ussher attempted to restore the genuine epistles by the help of two Latin MSS. (1644); and about the same time Isaac Vossius discovered at Florence a Greek MS. which agreed very closely with the text produced by Ussher's critical skill. This MS. exhibited *seven* epistles, considerably shorter than those which had before been known under the same titles—these having been swelled by interpolations; and the remaining five epistles were adjudged to be spurious. The "shorter recension" was defended against Daillé in Bishop Pearson's 'Vindiciæ' (1672); and from that time the seven epistles—although questioned by controversialists who disliked their testimony on the subject of church-government, and suspected by some other critics of having been more or less corrupted—have been generally received as, on the whole, genuine remains of the apostolical father. (See Fabric. 'Bibl. Gr.' vii. 34-7.) A new controversy, however, has sprung up from the discovery of a Syriac MS., which contains *three* epistles only, and those shorter than the corresponding Greek epistles of the Florentine copy. The editor of the three, the late Dr. Cureton, contends that they alone are genuine; while on the other side it is

maintained that they are not complete translations, but abridgements, and that they do not afford any good reason for rejecting the remaining four. The result appears to be, that in our own country, while Dr. Cureton's industry and oriental learning are very amply acknowledged, his knowledge of Christian antiquity is less highly estimated, and his reasoning is generally rejected (see Prof. Hussey's Preface to *Academical Sermons*; the *Quarterly Review* for Dec. 1850; Archdeacon Churton's Preface to Pearson's *Vindiciæ*, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib.; and Prof. Blunt's 11th Chapter); and that in Germany, where Baron Bunsen introduced the three epistles in their new form, the more sober critics prefer that which had been before known as the *shorter recension* (see Denzinger and Hefele in *Patrol. Gr.* v.), while Baur, who maintains that the whole are spurious is yet in so far decidedly against the patrons of the Syriac version that he declares it to be an abridgement of the Greek. It may be here noted as a curious fact, and one which does not tend to increase our confidence in the oracles of criticism, that the Epistle to Polycarp, which had been pointed out by Mosheim (*Instit.* 220-2; *De R. Chr.* 159) and Neander (ii. 411) as the most suspicious of the *seven*, is one of the *three* which Dr. Cureton admits as genuine. A very temperate summary of the controversy may be found in Prof. Chevallier's *Translation of Clement, etc.*, Camb. 1851, pp. xxxiv., seqq.

<sup>g</sup> Hieron. *de Viris Illustr.* c. 16.

Syria, a city which numbered 200,000 inhabitants; and to the authority of his position was added that of a wise and saintly character.

It is uncertain to which of the visits which Trajan paid to Antioch the fate of Ignatius ought to be referred. The Acts of his martyrdom<sup>h</sup> relate that he "was voluntarily led" before the emperor—an expression which may mean either that he was led as a criminal, without attempting resistance or escape; or that he himself desired to be conducted into Trajan's presence, with a view of setting forth the case of the Christians, and with the resolution, if his words should fail of success, to sacrifice himself for his faith and for his people.<sup>i</sup> The details of the scene with the emperor are suspicious, as the speeches attributed to Trajan appear to be too much in the vein of a theatrical tyrant; his sentence was, that Ignatius should be carried to Rome, and there exposed to wild beasts. Perhaps the emperor may have hoped to overcome the constancy of the aged bishop by the fatigues of the long journey, and by the terrors of the death which awaited him. At least we may suppose him to have reckoned on striking fear into other Christians, by the spectacle of a man so venerable in character and so eminent in place hurried over sea and land to a dreadful and degrading death—the punishment of the lowest criminals, and especially of persons convicted of those magical practices which were commonly imputed to the Christians.<sup>k</sup> Perhaps he may even have thought that the exemplary punishment of one conspicuous leader would operate as a mercy to the multitude, by deterring

<sup>h</sup> Neander suspects these altogether (i. 139), and the concluding part is given up by many critics. See Bp. Jacobson, *PP. Apostol.* ed. 1, pp. 534-7. Dressel has published (*PP. Apostolici*, 368-375, Lips. 1857) a

Greek account of the martyrdom, which places the examination before Trajan at Rome. This seems to be of no historical value.

<sup>i</sup> Le Clerc, in Jacobson, 515.

<sup>k</sup> Burton, ii. 26.



them from the forbidden religion; and we find in fact that, while the victim was on his way to Rome, his church, which he had left to the charge of God as its Pastor, was allowed to remain in peace.<sup>m</sup>

Ignatius, who had welcomed his condemnation, and had willingly submitted to be bound, was committed to the charge of ten soldiers, who treated him with great harshness.<sup>n</sup> They conducted him to Seleucia, and thence by sea to Smyrna, where he was received by the bishop, Polycarp—like himself a disciple of St. John, and destined to be a martyr for the Gospel. The report of his sentence and of his intended route had reached the churches of Asia; and from several of these deputations of bishops and clergy had been sent to Smyrna, with the hope of mingling with him in Christian consolation, and perhaps of receiving some spiritual gift from him.<sup>o</sup> He charged the bishops of Ephesus, Magnesia, and Tralles, with letters addressed to their respective churches; and, as some members of the Ephesian church were proceeding to Rome by a more direct way than that which he was himself about to take, he seized the opportunity of writing by them to his brethren in the capital. At Troas he was met by the bishop of Philadelphia; and thence he wrote to that church, as also to the Smyrnæans, and to their bishop, Polycarp.

The epistles to the churches are in general full of solemn and affectionate exhortation. The venerable writer recalls to the minds of his readers the great truths of the Gospel—dwelling with especial force on the reality of our Lord's manhood, and of the circumstances of His history, by way of warning against the docetic<sup>p</sup> errors which had begun to infest the Asiatic churches even

<sup>m</sup> Ignat. ad. Rom 9; ad Polyc. 7.

<sup>n</sup> Ad Rom. 5.

<sup>o</sup> Acta S. Ign. 3. See Jacobson, 523, and Burton, ii. 26, 231.

<sup>p</sup> See below, p. 55.

during the lifetime of St. John. A tendency to Judaism (or rather to heresies of a judaizing character) is also repeatedly denounced. Submission to the episcopal authority is strongly inculcated throughout. Ignatius charges the churches to do nothing without their bishops; he compares the relation of presbyters to bishops with that of the strings to the harp; he exhorts that obedience be given to the bishops as to Christ himself and to the Almighty Father. The frequent occurrence of such exhortations, and the terms in which the episcopal office is extolled, have been, in later times, the chief inducements to question the genuineness of the epistles altogether, or to suppose that they have been largely interpolated with the view of serving a hierarchical interest.<sup>9</sup> It must, however, be remembered that the question is not whether a ministry of three orders was by this time organized, but merely whether Ignatius' estimation of the episcopal dignity were somewhat higher or lower; and it has been truly remarked<sup>r</sup> that the intention of the passages in

<sup>9</sup> "Nulla forte lis plerisque Ignatianarum epistolarum mota fuisset, nisi qui pro divina origine et antiquitate gubernationis episcopalis pugnant, caussam suam ex illis fulcire potuissent. Hoc vero quum intelligerent Presbyteriani qui dicuntur, ex nostris etiam illi, qui omne id evertendum esse arbitrantur, quod ecclesiæ doctoribus utilitatis aliquid ad suam a populo distinctionem probandam afferre potest, tanto impetu has epistolas aggressi sunt, ut existimationi nonnunquam suæ et laudi, magis quam earum auctoritati, nocuerint." (Mosh. 160.) In like manner, Neander (i. 266) and Baur reject the epistles altogether, because they disagree with their views as to the origin of church-government, while Baron Bunsen relies on the three of the Syriac version, as harmonizing with his ideas of ecclesiastical polity; nor does the learned Mr. Greenwood

appear to be free from similar motives. (Cathedra Petri, i. 67-75.) See *Quart. Rev.* lxxxviii. 78; also Dorner's remarks (Lehre v. d. Person Christi, i. 157, note) on Neander's way of dealing with the epistles; and Möhler's 'Athanasius,' i. 18-19, as to the prejudice by which anti-episcopal writers have been influenced in the case. Dr. Cureton is, indeed, free from such prejudices, since he both professes that "no one can be more sincerely and warmly devoted to our church system" than himself, and points out that even *his* version contains "incidental and consequently unsuspected evidence" for that system. (Corpus Ignatianum, Pref. xv.-xvi.) But may not the judgment of the most unprejudiced and honest man be warped by partiality to his own discoveries?

<sup>r</sup> Mosh. Instit. 222; Milman, iii. 361.



question is not to exalt the hierarchy, but to persuade to Christian unity, of which the episcopate was the visible keystone.

The Epistle to the Romans is written in a more ardent strain than the others. In it Ignatius bears witness to the faith and the good deeds of the church of Rome. He expresses an eager desire for the crown of martyrdom, and entreats that the Romans will not, through mistaken kindness, attempt to prevent his fate. "I am," he says, "the wheat of God; let me be ground by the teeth of beasts, that I may be found the pure bread of Christ. Rather do you encourage the beasts, that they may become my tomb, and may leave nothing of my body, so that when dead I may not be troublesome to any one." He declares that he wishes the lions to exercise all their fierceness on him; that if, as in some other cases, they should show any unwillingness, he will himself provoke them to attack him.

It has been asked whether these expressions were agreeable to the spirit of the Gospel.<sup>s</sup> Surely we need not hesitate to answer. The aspirations of a tried and matured saint are not to be classed with that headstrong spirit which at a later time led some persons to provoke persecution and death, so that the church saw fit to restrain it by refusing the honours of martyrdom to those who should suffer in consequence of their own violence.<sup>t</sup> Rather they are to be regarded as a repetition of St. Paul's "readiness to be offered up;" of his desire "to depart and to be with Christ." To a man like Ignatius, such a death might reasonably seem as a token of the acceptance of his labours; while it afforded him an

<sup>s</sup> Barbeyrac, *De la Moralité des Pères*, l. viii. c. 39 (p. 126, Amsterd. 1728); Gibbon, i. 562.

<sup>t</sup> See Giesel. I. i. 248, 411; Blunt on the Fathers, 231-242.

opportunity of signally witnessing to the Gospel, and of becoming an offering for his flock.<sup>u</sup>

From Troas he took ship for Neapolis in Macedonia ; thence he crossed the continent to Epidamnus, where he again embarked ; and, after sailing round the south of Italy, he landed at Portus (Porto), near Ostia. His keepers hurried him towards Rome—fearing lest they should not arrive in time for the games at which it was intended to expose him. On the way he was met by some brethren from the city, whom he entreated, even more earnestly than in his letter, that they would do nothing to avert his death ; and, after having prayed in concert with them for the peace of the church, and for the continuance of love among the faithful, he was carried to the amphitheatre, where he suffered in the sight of the crowds assembled on the last day of the Sigillaria—a festival annexed to the Saturnalia.<sup>x</sup> It is related that, agreeably to the wish which he had expressed, no part of his body was left, except a few of the larger and harder bones ; and that these were collected by his brethren, and reverently conveyed to Antioch, being received with honour by the churches on the way.<sup>y</sup>

Within a few months after the martyrdom of Ignatius (if the late date of it be correct), Trajan was succeeded by Hadrian.<sup>z</sup> The new emperor Aug. 117. —able, energetic, inquisitive and versatile, but capricious, paradoxical, and a slave to a restless vanity<sup>a</sup>—was not likely to appreciate Christianity rightly. It is, however, altogether unjust to class him (as was once usual) among the persecutors of the church ; for there is no ground for supposing him to have been personally concerned in

<sup>u</sup> See Pearson, *Vindiciæ Ignatianæ*, p. ii. c. 9 (pp. 477, seqq., ed. Churton) ; Cureton, *Corpus Ignat.* 321-2.

<sup>x</sup> Dec. 20. Tillem. ii. 208.

<sup>y</sup> There is, however, in this nothing

like the honours which were paid to relics in later times.

<sup>z</sup> Tillem. *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 210.

<sup>a</sup> See Spartian. *Vit. Hadr.* 17, seqq.

the persecutions which took place during the earlier years of his reign, and under him the condition of the Christians was greatly improved.<sup>b</sup>

The rescript of Trajan to Pliny had both its favourable and its unfavourable side: while it discouraged anonymous and false informations, it distinctly marked the profession of the Gospel as a crime to be punished on conviction; and very soon a way was found to deprive the Christians of such protection as they might have hoped to derive from the hazardous nature of the informer's office. They were no longer attacked by individual accusers; but at public festivals the multitudes assembled in the amphitheatres learnt to call for a sacrifice of the Christians, as wretches whose impiety was the cause of floods and earthquakes, of plagues, famines, and defeats; and it was seldom that a governor dared to refuse such a demand.<sup>c</sup>

A visit of Hadrian to Athens,<sup>d</sup> when he was initiated into the mysteries of Eleusis,<sup>e</sup> excited the heathen inhabitants with the hope of gratifying their hatred of the Christians; and the occasion induced two of these—Quadratus, who had been an “evangelist,” or missionary,<sup>f</sup> and Aristides, a converted philosopher—to address the emperor in written arguments for their religion. The

<sup>b</sup> Lampridius says that Hadrian intended to acknowledge Christ among the gods, and with that view built temples without any statues. (Vit. Alex. Sev. 43.) But this is generally considered to be a mistake. See Giesel. I. ii. 173.

<sup>c</sup> Baron. 127. 1; Mosh. 236; Gibbon, i. 552.

<sup>d</sup> A.D. 125. Clinton. Tzschirner (202) places it in 131.

<sup>e</sup> As to the Greek mysteries, see Döllinger, ‘Heidenth. u. Judenth.’ 108, seqq.; 162, seqq. The early Christian writers all speak of them

with reprobation; and, although Tatian is the only one of the apologists who expressly states that he had been initiated into them (Cohort. ad Græcos, 29), it seems clear that other Christian writers must have known, either from their own experience or from the information of converts, what the nature of these rites really was. 118, 120.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. iv. 3; cf. iii. 27. Some (as Henschen, Acta §§, Mai. 26; Cave, Hist. Litt. i. 52, and Tzschirner, 202) improbably identify him with a Quadratus who became bishop of Athens. (Euseb. iv. 23.) See Donaldson, i. 52.

"Apologies" appear to have been well received; and they became the first in a series of works which powerfully and effectively set forth the truth of the Gospel, in contrast with the fables and the vices of heathenism.<sup>g</sup>

About the same time a plea for justice and toleration was offered by a heathen magistrate. Serennius Granianus, when about to leave the proconsulship of Asia, represented to Hadrian the atrocities which were committed in compliance with the popular clamours against the Christians; and the emperor, in consequence, addressed letters to Minucius Fundanus, the successor of Granianus, and to other provincial governors.<sup>h</sup> He orders that the Christians should no longer be given up to the outcries of the multitude; if convicted of any offence, they are to be sentenced according to their deserts; but the forms of law must be duly observed, and the authors of unfounded charges are to be severely punished. This rescript was valuable, as affording protection against a new form of persecution; but it was still far from establishing a complete toleration, since it omitted to define whether Christianity were in itself a crime, and thus left the matter to the discretion or caprice of the local magistrates.<sup>i</sup>

The reign of Hadrian was very calamitous for the Jews. In the last years of Trajan there had been Jewish insurrections in Egypt, Cyprus, Mesopotamia, and elsewhere, which had been put down with great severity, and had drawn fresh oppressions on the whole people.<sup>k</sup> By these, and especially by the insult which Hadrian offered to their religion, in settling a Roman colony on the site of the holy city, the Jews of Palestine

A.D. 132-5.

<sup>g</sup> See Tillem. *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 331-4; Routh, '*Reliquiæ Sacræ*,' i. 72-3. Neand. i. 139.

<sup>h</sup> Just. Mart. *Apol.* i. 68.

<sup>i</sup> See Mosh. *De Rebus Christ.* 238; Neand. i. 140-1; Routh, i. 73; Milman, ii. 135.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. *Hist. des Emp.* ii. 303-4.

were excited to a formidable revolt, under a leader who assumed the name of Barcochab,<sup>1</sup> and was believed by his followers to be the Messiah. After a protracted and very bloody war, the revolt was suppressed. Many Jews were put to death, some were sold at the price of horses, others were transported from the land of their fathers; and no Jew was allowed to approach Jerusalem except on one day in the year—the anniversary of the capture by Titus, when, for a heavy payment, they were admitted to mourn over the seat of their fallen greatness. The Roman city of Ælia Capitolina was built on the foundations of Jerusalem; a temple of Jupiter defiled Mount Zion; and it is said that profanations of a like kind were committed in the places hallowed by the birth, the death, and the burial of our Lord.<sup>m</sup>

While the revolt was as yet successful, the Christians of Palestine suffered severely for refusing to acknowledge Barcochab.<sup>n</sup> The measures of A.D. 138. Hadrian, after its suppression, led to an important change in the church of Jerusalem. Wishing to disconnect themselves visibly from the Jews, the majority of its members abandoned the Mosaic usages which they had until then retained; they chose for the first time a bishop of Gentile race, and conformed to the practice of Gentile churches. On these conditions they were allowed to reside in Ælia, while such of their brethren as still adhered to the distinctively Jewish Christianity retired to Pella and other places beyond the Jordan, where their fathers had found a refuge during the siege of Jerusalem by Titus.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Son of a Star* (with a reference to Numbers xxiv. 17).

<sup>m</sup> Just. Mart. Apol. i. 47; Id. Dial. c. Tryph. 16; Euseb. iv. 6; Id. Vit. Const. iii. 26; Hieron. in Sophoniam, i. 16 (Patrol. xxv. 1554); Id. Chronic.

ib. xxvii. 619-622; Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 305-314.

<sup>n</sup> Just. Apol. i. 31.

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. iv. 6; v. 12; Tillem. Hist. des Emp. ii. 312.

## CHAPTER III.

## THE REIGNS OF THE ANTONINES

A.D. 138-180.

THE rescripts of the last two emperors had done much  
 A.D. 138- for the protection of the Christians; and  
 161. their condition was yet further improved  
 during the peaceful reign of the elder Antoninus.

Finding that the provincial governors in general refused to punish the profession of the Gospel as in itself criminal, its enemies now had recourse to charges of atheism—an imputation which seems to have originated in the circumstance that the Christians were without the usual externals of worship—temples and altars, images and sacrifices.<sup>a</sup> The custom of ascribing all public calamities to them, and of calling for their blood as an atonement to the offended gods, still continued; and the magistrates of several cities in Greece requested the emperor's directions as to the course which should be taken in consequence. Antoninus wrote in reply, confirming the edict of Hadrian, that the Christians should not be punished, unless for crimes against the state.<sup>b</sup> Another document,<sup>c</sup> however, in which he is represented as instructing the council of Asia to put to death all who should molest the Christians on account of their religion, is now generally regarded as spurious.<sup>d</sup>

The cause of the persecuted body was pleaded by

<sup>a</sup> Mosh. 239; Tzschirner 228.

<sup>b</sup> Melito ap. Euseb. iv. 26.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. iv. 13.

<sup>d</sup> Tzschirner, 304; Giesel. I. i. 174;  
 Otto in Just. Mart. i. 206.



Justin, usually styled the Martyr, in an apology addressed to the emperor, his adopted sons, the senate, and the people of Rome.<sup>e</sup> Justin was a native of Flavia Neapolis, a town of Greek population and language, on the site of the ancient Sychem, in Samaria.<sup>f</sup> He has himself, in his Dialogue with the Jew Trypho, related the progress of his religious opinions: how—induced, as it would seem, rather by a desire to discover some solid foundation of belief than by any speculative turn of mind<sup>g</sup>—he tried in succession the most popular forms of Greek philosophy; how in one after another he was disgusted, either by the defectiveness of the doctrine or by the character of the teacher; how, after having taken up the profession of Platonism, he was walking on the sea-shore in deep meditation, when he was accosted by an old man of mild and reverend appearance, who told him that his studies were unpractical and useless, directed him to the Prophets and the New Testament, and exhorted him to pray “that the gates of light might be opened” to him.<sup>h</sup> The convictions which arose in Justin’s mind from the course of reading thus suggested were strengthened by his observation of the constancy with which Christians endured<sup>i</sup> persecution and death for the sake of their faith—a spectacle by which he had even before been persuaded that the popular charges against their morals must be unfounded.<sup>i</sup> With a fulness of belief such as he had never felt in any of the systems through which he had

<sup>e</sup> The date is fixed by most writers from A.D. 138 to 140; but by some as late as 150 or 151 (Semisch, ‘Justin der Märtyrer,’ i. 64, 73, Bresl. 1840-2; Clinton, A.D. 151). The chief objection to an early date is the mention of the heretic Marcion (c. 26), which Pagi (ii. 171) gets over by supposing that, when Justin wrote, Marcion had become notorious in the east, although he had not yet visited Rome.

<sup>f</sup> Apol. i. 1; Kaye’s Justin Martyr, 4-5; Semisch, i. 6-10.

<sup>g</sup> Neand. ii. 413.

<sup>h</sup> Dial. c. Tryph. 2-7. Semisch (i. 10-15) supposes Ephesus to have been the scene of this. Archdeacon Evans prefers Cæsarea (i. 136). See Donaldson, ii. 67.

<sup>i</sup> Apol. ii. 13.

passed, he embraced the Christian faith, and he devoted himself to the defence and propagation of it. He travelled in Egypt, Asia, and elsewhere, retaining the garb of a philosopher, which invested him with an air of authority, and was serviceable in procuring a hearing for his doctrines ;<sup>k</sup> but his usual residence was at Rome, where he established a school of Christian philosophy.<sup>m</sup>

Justin's First Apology contains a bold remonstrance against the iniquity of persecuting Christians for their religion, while all other parties were allowed to believe and to worship according to their conscience. In this and in the other writings by which he maintained the cause of the Gospel against its various adversaries—heathens, Jews, and heretics—he refutes the usual calumnies, the charges of atheism and immorality,<sup>n</sup> of political disaffection and sedition.<sup>o</sup> He appeals to the evidence of prophecy and miracles,<sup>p</sup> to the purity of the New Testament morality,<sup>q</sup> to the lives of his brethren, their love even for their enemies, their disinterestedness,

<sup>k</sup> Dial. c. Tryph. 1 ; Neand. i. 381-2.

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. ii. 377. It is generally supposed that Justin did not enter into the ministry of the church ; Tillemont, however (ii. 350), is inclined to think that he was a priest, because in describing the administration of the Christian rites he uses the first person plural (Apol. i. 61). Neander would account for this by saying "that no such distinction was as yet made between clergy and laity as would render it improbable that Justin expressed himself in this way on the principle of the universal Christian priesthood." (ii. 413.) But surely Justin might speak in the first person plural of acts done by the body to which he belonged, without meaning either that he was himself an officiating person, or that every member of the congregation was alike entitled to officiate.

<sup>n</sup> Apol. i. 6, 9, 13.

<sup>o</sup> Apol. 11, 18.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. 30-53 ; Dial. c. Tryph. 56, seqq. The evidence from miracles, however, was little insisted on by the early Christian writers, since the belief in theurgic practices was so common among the heathen that the proof of a miracle would have done but little to establish the divine origin of a doctrine, unless some criteria were settled by which one kind of miracles might be distinguished from another. This is the true explanation of "the supine inattention of the pagan and philosophic world," from which Gibbon would conclude against the reality of the New Testament miracles (i. 525). Justin did something towards establishing a distinction. Semisch, ii. 197-201 ; Tzschirner, 270, 519-520. Comp. Bp. Kaye on Tertullian, 125-8 ; Mozley, Bampton Lect. 242, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> Apol. i. 13.



their firmness in confessing the faith, their patience in suffering for it.<sup>r</sup> No one, he says, had ever believed Socrates in such a manner as to die for his philosophy; but multitudes, even in the lowest ranks, had braved danger and death in the cause of Christ.<sup>s</sup> He dwells on the chief points of Christian doctrine, and elaborately discusses the resurrection of the body, an article which was especially difficult to the apprehension of the heathens.<sup>t</sup> He vindicates the character and the miracles of our Lord; he rebuts the arguments drawn from the novelty of his religion, and from the depressed condition of its professors, which their enemies regarded as a disproof of their pretensions to the favour of the Almighty; he argues from the progress which the Gospel had already made, although unaided by earthly advantages.<sup>u</sup> Nor is he content with defending his own creed; he attacks the corruptions and absurdities of Paganism, not only in its popular and poetical form, but as it appeared in the more refined interpretations of the philosophers;<sup>x</sup> he exposes the foul abominations of heathen morals, and tells his opponents that the crimes which they slanderously imputed to the Christians might more truly be charged on themselves.<sup>y</sup>

Justin often insists on the analogies which are to be found between the doctrines of Plato and those of Holy Scripture.<sup>z</sup> He derives the wisdom of the Greeks from the Jews, through the medium of Egypt, and ascribes the corruptions of it to demons, who, according to him, had laboured by such means to raise a prejudice against the

<sup>r</sup> Apol. i. 13-16, 25.    <sup>s</sup> Apol. ii. 10.

<sup>t</sup> Apol. i. 19-20; Semisch, ii. 157.  
Of his special treatise on the Resurrection fragments only remain.

<sup>u</sup> Apol. i. 39; Dial. c. Tr. 121; Semisch, ii. 120, 178.

<sup>x</sup> Apol. i. 21, 25; Orat. ad Gentiles (a doubtful work); Coh. ad Gr. 3-7.

<sup>y</sup> Apol. i. 27-9; Apol. ii. 12.

<sup>z</sup> Apol. i. 20, 59, 60; Apol. ii. 13; Coh. ad Gr. 26-31, &c.

reception of Christian doctrine.<sup>a</sup> He held that the good men of antiquity, such as Socrates and Heraclitus, had been guided by a partial illumination of the Divine Logos, and that, because they strove to live by this light, the demons had raised persecutions against them. Justin therefore urges his heathen readers to embrace that wisdom which had been imperfectly vouchsafed to the sages of their religion, but was now offered in fulness to all men.<sup>b</sup> While, however, he thus referred to heathen philosophy by way of illustration, and represented it as a preparation for Christianity, he was careful not to admit it as supplementary to the Gospel or as an element of adulteration.<sup>c</sup>

Although it is a mistake to suppose that the apologies of the early writers were mere exercises, composed without any intention of presenting them to the princes who are addressed,<sup>d</sup> there is no evidence that Justin's First Apology produced any effect on Antoninus, or contributed

<sup>a</sup> Apol. i. 44-60; Dial. c. Tr. 69; Coh. ad Gr. 14, seqq.; Semisch, ii. 161.

<sup>b</sup> Apol. ii. 7-12; Coh. ad Gr. 35. See *Assensé*, iv. 176-180.

<sup>c</sup> Semisch, ii. 227-9. Another way of employing heathen authority consisted in references to the Sibylline prophecies, from their fondness for which Celsus gave some Christians the name of Sibyllists. (Orig. c. Cels. v. 61.) These books, according to Bleek and Lücke (Comment. über Joh. iv. 116, 120), originated with an Alexandrian Jew of the Maccabean age, who made use of older heathen writings. Christians had very early begun to add to them, and to circulate other prophecies under the names of heathen sages, such as Hystaspes and Hermes Trismegistus. (Nat. Alex. iv. Dissert. 1; Mosh. 229-231; Giesel. I. i. 227; Neander, i. 245-6; Tzschirner. 268-270; Mill on Pantheistic Principles, 367; Blunt on the Fathers, 60; Döllinger,

'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 556-7.) Tzschirner (196) thinks that in this they did not intend to deceive, but merely to present their doctrines in a form attractive to the heathens. There is no doubt that the references to these books by Justin (e.g. Apol. i. 20, 44; Cohort. 16, 37), Theophilus of Antioch (ad Autolyc. ii. 9, 36), and others were made in perfectly good faith. (Beveridge, Codex Canon. Vindic. 176, 192; Semisch, ii. 208.) Schröckh shows (ii. 400, seqq.) that the acceptance of such forgeries by the early Christian writers is no prejudice to the value of their evidence in favour of the books of Scripture.

<sup>d</sup> This idea was started by Bayle (art. *Athenagoras*, notes B. C.), but is now generally regarded as a mistaken transference of modern notions to early times. See Schröckh, iii. 105; Tzschirner, 209.

to suggest the emperor's measures in favour of the Christians. The Roman political view of religion was, indeed, not to be disturbed by argument. All that the magistrate had to care for was a conformity to the established rites—a conformity which was considered to be a duty towards the state, but was not supposed to imply any inward conviction. The refusal of compliance by the Christians, therefore, was an unintelligible scruple, which statesmen could only regard, with Pliny, as a criminal obstinacy.<sup>e</sup>

The elder Antoninus was succeeded in 161 by his adopted son Marcus Aurelius.<sup>f</sup> Under this emperor—celebrated as he is for benevolence, justice, intelligence, and philosophic culture—the state of the Christians was worse than in any former reign, except that of Nero; if, indeed, even this exception ought to be made, since Nero's persecution was probably limited to Rome.<sup>g</sup> The gradual advance towards toleration, which had continued ever since the death of Domitian, is now succeeded by a sudden retrograde movement. The enmity against Christians is no longer peculiar to the populace, but local governors and judges are found to take spontaneously an active part in persecution. Now, for the first time, they seek out the victims, in contravention of the principle laid down by Trajan; instead of discouraging informations, they invite or instigate them; they apply torture with the view of forcing a recantation; in order to obtain evidence, they not only violate the ancient law which forbade the admis-

<sup>e</sup> Tertull. Apol. 27. "Le vieux Polythéisme . . . était devenu une sorte d'hypocrisie publique, professée par l'état." Villemain, *Tableau de l'Eloquence Chrétienne*, 59. Comp. Neand. i. 243-4; Beugnot, i. 35.

<sup>f</sup> It does not seem necessary in such

a work as this to mention the colleagues who were associated with some of the emperors, unless in cases where the character of the colleague told on the religious policy of the reign.

<sup>g</sup> Mosh. 246.

sion of slaves as witnesses against their masters, but even wring out the testimony of reluctant slaves by torture.<sup>h</sup>

In explanation of the contrast between the general character of Marcus and his policy towards the church, it has been suggested that, in his devotion to philosophical studies, he may have neglected to bestow due care on the direction and superintendence of the officers by whom the government of the empire was administered ; that he may have shared no further in the persecutions of his reign than by carelessly allowing them to be carried on.<sup>i</sup> But this supposition would appear to be inconsistent with facts ; for, although no express law of this date against the Christians is extant, it is almost certain that the persecuting measures were sanctioned by new and severe edicts proceeding from the emperor himself ;<sup>k</sup> and we are not without the materials for a more satisfactory solution of the seeming contradiction.

The reign was a period of great public disasters and calamities. A fearful pestilence ravaged the countries from Ethiopia to Gaul ; the Tiber rose in flood, destroying among other buildings the public granaries, and causing a famine in the capital ; the empire was harassed by long wars on the eastern and northern frontiers, and by the revolt of its most distinguished general in Syria. All such troubles were ascribed to the wrath of the gods, which the Christians were supposed to have provoked. The old tales of atheism and abominable practices, however often refuted, continued to keep their ground in the popular belief ;<sup>l</sup> and it appears on investigation that the

<sup>h</sup> Tillem. ii. 310 ; Mosh. 244 ; Neand. i. 148 9 ; Giesel. I. i. 175 ; Milman, ii. 160.

<sup>i</sup> Mosh. 244.

<sup>k</sup> Tertullian says that he made no laws against them (Apol. 5) ; but see Dr. Pusey's notes ; also Euseb. iv. 26 ; Baron. 164 ; Neander, i. 142-3 ; Tzschir-

ner, 312 ; Milman, ii. 178 ; Pressensé, iii. 170. Neander (i. 149) ascribes to him an edict which bears the name of *Aurelian* ; but Gieseler (I. i. 175) and Dean Milman oppose this view. Dr. James Donaldson would acquit the emperor. ii. 6, seqq.

<sup>l</sup> Mosh. 243

fiercest renewals of persecution coincided in time with the chief calamities of the reign.<sup>m</sup> The heathen, high as well as low, were terrified into a feeling that the chastisements of Heaven demanded a revival of their sunken religion; they restored its neglected solemnities, they offered sacrifices of unusual costliness, they anxiously endeavoured to remove whatever might be supposed offensive to the gods.<sup>n</sup>

The emperor, as a sincerely religious heathen, shared in the general feeling; nor were his private opinions such as to dispose him favourably towards the Christians, whom it would appear that he knew only through the representations of their enemies the philosophers.<sup>o</sup> The form of philosophy to which he was himself addicted—the Stoic—was very opposite in tone to the Gospel. It may be described as aristocratic—a system for the elevated few; it would naturally lead its followers to scorn as vulgar a doctrine which professed to be for all ranks of society and for every class of minds.<sup>p</sup> The firmness of the Stoic was to be the result of correct reasoning; the emperor himself, in his ‘Meditations,’ illustrates the true philosophical calmness by saying that it must not be like the demeanour of the Christians in death, which he regards as enthusiastic and theatrical.<sup>q</sup> And the enthusiasm was infectious; the sect extended throughout, and even beyond, the empire;

<sup>m</sup> This subject is very ably treated by Dean Milman, vol. ii. c. 7.

<sup>n</sup> Baron. 164. 6; Neand. i. 145.

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. ii. 307; Emp. ii. 372; Mosh. 241-5; Neand. i. 146-7.

<sup>p</sup> Schröckh, iii. 80; Villemain, *Tabl. de l'Eloq. Chrét.* The truth of this description is not affected by the difference which M. Villemain well points out between the harshness of Stoicism in its earlier days and the humaner form which it wore in Marcus Aurelius—the result, perhaps, of an unsuspected influence of the Gospel (p. 66). Mr. Lecky denies this influence (i. 263-270).

<sup>q</sup> L. xi. c. 3. The genuineness of the words *ὡς οἱ Χριστιανοί* has been questioned, but seemingly without ground. See Giesel. I. ii. 170. Archdeacon Evans points out that the ‘Meditations’ are pervaded by a special regard to social duties, and that the Christians, as they avoided many of the usual occupations and amusements of life, must have appeared to the emperor to be wanting in this respect (i. 151). Professor Plumptre sees in the word *ἀπραγῶδως* an allusion to Justin’s Second Apology, c. 12, where “he expresses a wish that some one (meaning obviously some Christian),

already its advocates began to boast of the wonderful progress of their doctrines ;<sup>r</sup> and the circumstances thus alleged in its favour might suggest to the mind of an unfriendly statesman a fear of dangerous combinations and movements. If, too, the prosperity of a nation depended on its gods, the triumph over paganism which the Christians anticipated must, it was thought, imply the ruin of the empire. A "kingdom not of this world" was an idea which the heathen could not understand ; nor was their alarm without countenance from the language of many Christians,<sup>s</sup> for not only was the Apocalypse interpreted as foretelling the downfall of pagan Rome, but pretended prophecies, such as the Sibylline verses, spoke of it openly, and in a tone of exultation.<sup>t</sup>

It was long believed that Marcus, in the latter years of his reign, changed his policy towards the Christians, in consequence of a miraculous deliverance which he had experienced in one of his campaigns  
A.D. 174. against the Quadi. His army was hemmed in by the barbarians ; the soldiers were exhausted by wounds and fatigue, and parched by the rays of a burning sun. In this distress (it is said) a legion composed of Christians stepped forward and knelt down in prayer ; on which the sky was suddenly overspread with clouds, and a copious shower descended for the refreshment of the Romans, who took off their helmets to catch the rain. While they were thus partly unarmed,

fearless of death, would cry out with a tragic voice (*τραγικῇ τῇ φωνῇ*), and utter a prophetic denunciation of the injustice and superstition of heathen magistrates." *Contemp. Review*, x. 83.

<sup>r</sup> See *Just. Dial. c. Tryph.* 117, quoted below, c. viii.

<sup>s</sup> *Just. Apol. i. 11.*

<sup>t</sup> Tzschirner, 192-4. 199, 234, 210.

311 ; Beugnot, i. 21 ; Milm. ii. 164-172 ; *Lat. Christ. i. 37.* Moreover, the Christian writers did not always preserve a proper tone of respect towards the emperor. Thus Tatian spoke of him as paying large salaries to philosophers, "that they might not wear their beards long for nothing." *Orat. adv. Græcos*, c. 19 (in the Benedictine edition of *Iustin*)



and intent only on quenching their thirst, the enemy attacked them ; but a violent storm of lightning and hail arose, which drove full against the barbarians, and enabled the imperial forces to gain an easy victory. It is added that the interposition of the God of Christians was acknowledged ; that the emperor bestowed the name of *Fulminatrix* on the legion whose prayers had been so effectual ; and that he issued an edict in favour of their religion.<sup>u</sup>

In refutation of this story it has been shown that, while the deliverance is attested by heathen as well as Christian writers, by coins, and by a representation on the Antonine column at Rome,<sup>x</sup> it is ascribed by the heathens to Jupiter or Mercury, and is said to have been procured either by the arts of an Egyptian magician or by the prayers of the emperor himself ;<sup>y</sup> that the idea of a legion consisting exclusively of Christians is absurd ; that the title of *Fulminatrix* was as old as the time of Augustus ; and that the worst persecutions of the reign were later than the date of the supposed edict of toleration. But, although the miracle of "the Thundering Legion" is now generally abandoned,<sup>z</sup> the story may have arisen without any intentional deceit. For the deliverance of the army in the Quadian war is certain ; and we may safely assume that there were Christian soldiers in the imperial force, that they prayed in their distress, and that they rightly ascribed their relief to the mercy of God. We have then only to suppose, further, that some Christian, ignorant of military antiquities, connected this event with the name of the *Legio Fulminatrix* ; and the other circumstances are such

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. v. 5 ; Tillem. Emp. ii. 405-7.

<sup>x</sup> See the engraving in Baronius, ii. 292.

<sup>y</sup> Dion Cass. lxxi. p. 305, ed. Leun-chav. Hanov. 1606 ; Jul. Capitolin. Vit. M. Aurel. c. 24 ; Claudian, De Sexto, Consul. Honorii, 338, seqq. See

Burn, 'Rome and the Campagna,' 336-7.

<sup>z</sup> Guericke, indeed, endeavours to uphold it (i. 130) ; but an explanation similar to that in the text is given even by Dr. Newman (Essay on Eccl. Miracles, cxi.-ii.), and by Rohrbacher, v. 159-161.

as might have easily been added to the tale in the course of its transmission.<sup>a</sup>

The most eminent persons who suffered death under Marcus Aurelius were Justin and Polycarp. Early in the reign Justin was induced by the martyrdom of some Christians at Rome to compose a second Apology, in which he expressed an expectation that he himself might soon fall a victim to the arts of his enemies, and especially of one Crescens, a Cynic, who is described as a very vile member of his repulsive sect.<sup>b</sup> The apprehension was speedily verified; and Justin, after having borne himself in his examination with firmness and dignity, was beheaded at Rome, and earned the glorious title which usually accompanies his name.

The martyrdom of Justin was followed<sup>c</sup> by that of Polycarp—a man whose connexion with the apostolic age invested him with an altogether peculiar title to reverence in the time to which he had survived. He had been a disciple of St. John, who is supposed to have placed him in the see of Smyrna.<sup>d</sup> It was perhaps Polycarp who was addressed as the “angel” of that church in the Apocalypse;<sup>e</sup> and we have already noticed his correspondence with the martyr Ignatius. Towards the

<sup>a</sup> See Pagi, ii. 286; Moyle's Dissertation on the subject (translated, with Lord King's remarks, by Mosheim, 'Dissertationum ad Sanctiores Disciplinas spectantium Syntagma,' Lips. 1733, pp. 623, seqq.); Mosh. 249-251; Schröckh, iii. 148-9; Routh. Reliqq. Sacræ, i. 165-7; Kaye on Tertullian, 99; Burton, ii. 166-8; Neand. i. 159-162; Giesel. I. i. 176; Pusey n. on Tertull. i. 14; Clinton, ii. 23, seqq.; Blunt, 294-6; Merivale, vii. 585.

<sup>b</sup> C. 3; Tatian, adv. Gr. c. 19. Bishop Pearson supposes that the Second Apology was addressed to Antoninus Pius, and that Justin was put to death in

150 (Min. Works, ii. 502). But the Apology is usually placed in this reign, and the martyrdom about 166. (Semisch, i. 147-153; Giesel. I. i. 205.) For the acts of the martyrdom see Justin, ed. Otto, ii. 262, seqq. (See Donaldson, ii. 69-70.)

<sup>c</sup> Some place the death of Polycarp first. Baronius and Mosheim date it in 169; Pearson (Min. Works, ii. 531) in 147; Pagi (although not confidently) in 158 (ii. 236); Clinton in 166; others in 167.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. III. iii. 4.

<sup>e</sup> ii. 8-11 See Schaff, 433.



end of the reign of Pius, Polycarp had visited Rome <sup>f</sup>—partly, although not exclusively, for the purpose of discussing a question which had arisen between the churches of Asia and those of other countries as to the time of keeping Easter. It had been the practice of the Asiatics to celebrate the paschal supper on the fourteenth day of the first Jewish month—the same day on which the Jews ate the passover; and three days later, without regard to the day of the week, they kept the feast of the resurrection. Other churches, on the contrary, held it unlawful to interrupt the fast of the holy week, or to celebrate the resurrection on any other day than the first; their Easter, consequently, was always on a Sunday, and their paschal supper was on its eve. The Asiatic or *quarto-deciman* practice was traced to St. John and St. Philip; that of other churches, to St. Peter and St. Paul.<sup>g</sup>

Polycarp was received at Rome by the bishop, Anicetus, with the respect due to his personal character, to his near connexion with the apostles, to his advanced age, and to his long tenure of the episcopal office—for Anicetus was the seventh bishop of Rome since his guest had been set over the church of Smyrna. The discussion of the paschal question was carried on with moderation; it was agreed that on such a matter a difference of practice might be allowed; and Anicetus, in token of fellowship and regard, allowed the Asiatic bishop to consecrate the eucharist in his presence.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>f</sup> About A.D. 158, Burton (ii. 124); 167, Baron (167-8); 160, Schröckh. See Augusti, ii. 24.

<sup>g</sup> This is Mosheim's account of the difference (435, seqq.); but there still remains a question on the subject. Compare Schröckh, iii. 53-4; Routh, Rel. Sac. ii. 17-20; Augusti, ii. 25; Neand. i. 412-13; Giesel. l. ii. 240-2; Jacobson, PP. Apostol. iii.; Hefele, i.

289. Dr. James Donaldson thinks that the idea of a discussion of the paschal question at this time arises from a mistake of Eusebius. i. 159.

<sup>h</sup> Παρεχώρησεν ὁ Ἀνίκητος τῇ εὐχαριστίαν τῷ Πολυκάρπῳ (Iren. ap. Euseb. v. 24). Some, with whom Heinichen (not. in loc.) agrees, understand only that Anicetus gave the eucharist to Polycarp; but, as Siieren

During his residence at Rome, Polycarp succeeded in recovering many persons who had been perverted to heresy by Valentinus, Marcion, and Marcellina, a female professor of gnosticism.<sup>1</sup> It is said also that he had a personal encounter with Marcion, and that when the heresiarch (probably with reference to some former acquaintance in Asia) asked him for a sign of recognition, his answer was, "I know thee for the firstborn of Satan."<sup>k</sup>

The martyrdom of Polycarp is related in a letter composed in the name of his church.<sup>1</sup> Persecution had begun to rage in Asia, and many of the Smyrnæan Christians had suffered with admirable constancy; but one who had at first been forward in exposing himself was afterwards persuaded to sacrifice, and from his case the writers of the letter take occasion to discourage the practice of voluntarily courting persecution. The multitude was enraged at the sight of the fortitude which the martyrs displayed, and a cry arose, "Away with the atheists! Seek out Polycarp!" The behaviour of the venerable bishop, when thus demanded as a victim, was worthy of his character for Christian prudence and sincerity. At the persuasion of his friends he withdrew to a neighbouring village, from which he afterwards removed to another; and, on being discovered in his second retreat, he calmly said, "God's will be done!" He ordered food to be set before his captors, and spent in fervent prayer the time which was allowed him before he was carried off to the city. As he entered the arena, he

remarks (n. in Iren. t. i. 827), this would not have been any mark of distinguished honour, which is the character in which Irenæus evidently means to represent the act. See the *Apost. Constitutions*, ii. 58.

<sup>i</sup> Iren. I. xxv. 6. For Valentinus and Marcion, see the next chapter.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. III. iii. 4.

<sup>1</sup> Published in the collections of the *Apostolical Fathers*. Dr. J. Donaldson supposes it to have been written some years after the event, and to have been afterwards much interpolated. i. 169-178.

is said to have heard a voice from heaven—"Be strong, Polycarp, and play the man!" and it is added that many of his brethren also heard it. On his appearance the spectators were greatly excited, and broke out into loud clamours. The proconsul exhorted him to purchase liberty by renouncing his faith; but he replied, "Fourscore and six years<sup>m</sup> have I served Christ, and he hath done me no wrong; how can I now blaspheme my King and Saviour?" nor could the proconsul shake his resolution either by renewed solicitations, or by threatening him with the beasts and with fire. The multitude cried out for the bishop's death, and he was condemned to be burnt—a sentence of which he is said to have before received an intimation by a vision of a fiery pillow. A quantity of wood was soon collected, and it is noted by the narrator that the Jews, "as was their custom," showed themselves especially zealous in the work. In compliance with his own request that he might not be fastened with the usual iron cramps, as he trusted that God would enable him stedfastly to endure the flames, Polycarp was tied to the stake with cords, and in that position he uttered a thanksgiving for the privilege of glorifying God by his death. The pile was then kindled, but the flame, instead of touching him, swept around him "like the sail of a ship filled with wind," while his body appeared in the midst, "not like flesh that is burnt, but like bread that is baked, or like gold and silver glowing in a furnace;" and a perfume as of frankincense or spices filled the air.<sup>n</sup> As the fire seemingly refused to do its office, one of the executioners stabbed the martyr with a sword, whereupon there issued

<sup>m</sup> Some understand this to mean his age: others the period since his conversion. See Jacobson, 564-5.

<sup>n</sup> This has been accounted for by supposing that the hastily-gathered pile was partly composed of aromatic

wood. (Milman, ii. 88.) It seems best in general to leave without comment those parts of the story in which the feelings of the narrators may have given it a miraculous character.

forth a profusion of blood sufficient to quench the flames.<sup>o</sup> The heathens and the Jews then burnt the body—out of fear, as they said, lest the Christians should worship Polycarp instead of “the Crucified,”—an apprehension by which, as the church of Smyrna remarks, they manifested an utter ignorance of Christian doctrine. The brethren were therefore obliged to content themselves with collecting some of the bones, and bestowing on them an honourable burial. As in the case of Ignatius, the death of the bishop procured a respite for his flock.

At a later time in the reign of Marcus Aurelius a violent persecution took place in the south of Gaul.<sup>p</sup> The church of Lyons and Vienne was of eastern, and comparatively recent, origin;<sup>q</sup> it was still under the care of Pothinus, the head of the mission by which the Gospel had been introduced. In the year 177,<sup>r</sup> when the empire was alarmed by renewed apprehensions of the German war, the Christians of these cities found themselves the objects of outrage; they were insulted and attacked in the streets, their houses were entered and plundered. The eagerness of the authorities to second the popular feeling on this occasion appears in striking contrast with the practice of earlier times. Orders were given to search out the Christians; by the illegal application of torture, some heathen slaves were brought to charge their masters with the abominations of Œdipus and Thyestes; and the victims were then tortured in

<sup>o</sup> The Martyrdom in the common copies (c. 16) reads, ἐξῆλθε περιστερὰ καὶ πλῆθος αἱματος, “there came out a dove and a large quantity of blood.” The words *περιστερὰ καὶ* are wanting in Eusebius and in some MSS. Various conjectures have been proposed in order to get rid of or explain the *dove*. Some would read *περὶ στερνὰ* “there came forth about the breast,” or *ἐπ’ ἐριστερά* “on the left.” See Jacob-

son, in loc., and Evans, i. 90. Bp. Wordsworth (‘St. Hippolytus,’ 319) offers a very ingenious reading,—*περὶ στύρακα* “about the haft.”

<sup>p</sup> The authority for this is a letter of the church of Lyons and Vienne, preserved by Eusebius, l. v. (although incomplete).

<sup>q</sup> Mosh. 207, 211.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. iii. 598; Milman, ii. 194.

various ways, and were imprisoned in dungeons where noisomeness and privation were fatal to many. The bishop, a man upwards of ninety years old, and infirm both from age and from sickness, was dragged before the governor, who asked him, "Who is the God of Christians?" "If thou art worthy," answered Pothinus, "thou shalt know." He was scourged without mercy by the officers of the court, and was beaten, kicked, and pelted by the crowd; after which he was carried almost lifeless to a prison, where he died within two days. A distinction was made as to the manner of death between persons of different conditions: slaves were crucified, provincials were exposed to beasts, and the emperor, on being consulted as to the manner of dealing with those who claimed the privilege of Roman citizenship, ordered that such of them as adhered to their faith should be beheaded. Yet notwithstanding this, an Asiatic named Attalus, although a citizen of Rome, was tortured and was exposed to beasts. When placed in a heated iron chair, he calmly remarked, as the smell of his burning flesh arose, that his persecutors were guilty of the cannibalism which they falsely imputed to the Christians.

The behaviour of the sufferers was throughout marked by composure and sobriety. They succeeded by their prayers and by their arguments in persuading some of their brethren, who had at first yielded to the fear of death, to confess their Lord, and to give themselves for him. A slave, named Blandina, was distinguished above all the other martyrs for the variety of tortures which she endured. Her mistress, a Christian, had feared that the constancy of a slave might give way in time of trial; but Blandina's character had been formed, not by her condition, but by the faith which she professed. Her patience wearied out the inventive cruelty of her tormentors, and amidst her greatest agonies she found

strength and relief in repeating, "I am a Christian, and no wickedness is done among us."<sup>s</sup>

The malice of the heathen did not end with the death of their victims. They cast their bodies to the dogs; they burnt such fragments as were left uneaten, and threw the ashes into the Rhone, in mockery of the doctrine of a resurrection.

In this reign began the controversial opposition on the side of Paganism.<sup>t</sup> The leader in it, Celsus, a man of a showy but shallow cleverness, who is generally supposed to have been an Epicurean, although in his attack he affected the character of a Platonist,<sup>u</sup> reflected on Christianity for its "barbarous" origin,<sup>x</sup> and charged it with having borrowed from the Egyptians, from Plato, and from other heathen sources.<sup>y</sup> He assailed the scriptural narrative — sometimes confounding Christianity with Judaism,<sup>z</sup> at another time labouring to prove the Old Testament inconsistent with the New,<sup>a</sup> at another introducing a Jew as the mouthpiece for his objections against the Gospel.<sup>b</sup> The lowness of the Saviour's early birth, the poverty of the first disciples, the humble station, the simplicity, the credulity, of Christians in his own day, furnished Celsus with ample matter for merriment, which was sometimes of a very ribald character.<sup>c</sup> He ascribed

<sup>s</sup> Comp. Iren. *Fragm. ap. Stieren*, i. 832.

<sup>t</sup> Dr. Farrar's 2nd Bampton Lecture (1862), and the notes on it, contain much information as to the pagan controversialists.

<sup>u</sup> Origen throughout treats him as a disguised Epicurean (*e.g.* i. 8; iv. 4, 54). See Mosh. 256; Giesel. I. i. 161; Neand. i. 222, seqq.; Tzschirner, 325-7; Semisch, i. 41; Pressensé, iv. 105. By some Celsus is referred to the reign of Hadrian. Mosheim, in his preface to a translation of Origen's

work against him, conjectures that he was a Neoplatonist, of the school of Ammonius; but this supposition, which would place him much later, is improbable. (Schröckh, iv. 94.) Redepening calls him an eclectic Platonist Origenes, ii. 131-4.

<sup>x</sup> Orig. c. Cels. i. 2.

<sup>y</sup> Ibid. 22; vi. 7, &c.

<sup>z</sup> i. 26.

<sup>a</sup> L. vii.

<sup>b</sup> L. ii. See Blunt, 123.

<sup>c</sup> *E.g.*, i. 7, 27-32, 39; ii. 47, &c.



the miracles of Scripture to magic, and taxed the Christians with addiction to practices of the same kind.<sup>d</sup> He freely censured both the doctrines and the morality of the Gospel, nor was he ashamed even to denounce its professors as neglectful of their duties to society, and as dangerous to the government of the empire.<sup>e</sup> Utterly futile and worthless as the work of Celsus appears to have been, it continued for a century to be regarded as the chief of those written against Christianity. It was at length honoured with a full and elaborate confutation by Origen; but in the meantime the Gospel did not want able advocates, who maintained its cause both in apologies and in treatises of other kinds. Among the apologists were Melito, bishop of Sardis; Theophilus, bishop of Antioch; Athenagoras, an Athenian philosopher, who is said to have been converted by a perusal of the Scriptures, which he had undertaken with the view of refuting Christianity;<sup>f</sup> Claudius Apollinaris, bishop of Hierapolis; Miltiades; and Tatian, an Assyrian by birth, who had been a pupil of Justin Martyr.<sup>g</sup> Tatian afterwards gained a more unhappy celebrity as the founder of the sect of Encratites.<sup>h</sup> His tenets and those of his contemporary Bardesanes of Edessa (whose hymns found their way even into the congregations of the orthodox), need not be further

<sup>d</sup> i. 6, 38.

<sup>e</sup> i. 1; iii. 114; viii. 68, 73, &c.; Pressensé, iv. 120.

<sup>f</sup> Schröckh, iii. 119. See Tzschirner, 212-5. Philip of Side, a writer of little authority in the fifth century (see below, b. ii. c. 9; Photius, *Biblioth. cod.* 35), very improbably makes him head of the catechetical school of Alexandria. See Pref. to the Bened. edition of Just. Martyr (Par. 1742), p. cxi.

<sup>g</sup> Minucius Felix is also referred to

this period by some writers, as Tzschirner, 219. (See Schönemann, '*Biblioth. Historico-liter. Patrum Latinorum*,' i. 59-62; Giesel. I. i. 208; Bähr, ii. 39. By some he has been supposed an African; but it is more probable that he was a Roman, and that he wrote later than Tertullian, in the reign of Alexander Severus. See the introduction to Mr. Holden's edition of Minucius, Combr. 1853.

<sup>h</sup> *Iren.* I. xxviii. 1; Epiphon. *Hær.* 116-7.



described than by saying that they both belonged to the gnostic family.<sup>i</sup> A sect of a different character—that of Montanus—had also its rise in the reign of Marcus; but a notice of it may be more fitly given at a somewhat later date, and we must now turn back to survey the heresies which had already disturbed the church.

## CHAPTER IV.

### THE EARLY HERETICS.

HEGESIPPUS<sup>a</sup> and Clement of Alexandria<sup>b</sup> have been derided by the greatest of English historians as having stated that the church was not polluted by schism or heresy until the reign of Trajan, or that of Hadrian; and it is added, "We may observe, with much more propriety, that during [the earlier] period the disciples of the Messiah were indulged in a freer latitude, both of faith and practice, than has ever been allowed in succeeding ages."<sup>c</sup> In reality, however, the fathers who are cited make no such assertion as is here supposed; their words relate, not to the appearance of the first symptoms of error, but to the distinct formation of bodies which at once claimed the Christian name and held doctrines different from those of the church.<sup>d</sup> Nor has the remark which is offered by way of correction any

<sup>i</sup> For Bardesanes see Epiph. Hær. 56. His son Harmonius also was celebrated as a hymnographer. St Ephrem, in the fourth century, expelled the hymns of Harmonius from the church, by substituting orthodox compositions of the same measures. Sozo-

men, iii. 16; Augusti, v. 352.

<sup>a</sup> Ap. Euseb. iii. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Strom. vii. 17, p. 898.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, i. 465.

<sup>d</sup> Heinich. in Euseb. iii. 32 (A. 1 266).

other truth than this,—that the measures of the church for the protection of her members against erroneous teaching were taken only as the development of evil made them necessary. The New Testament itself bears ample witness both to the existence of false doctrine during the lifetime of the apostles, and to the earnestness with which they endeavoured to counteract it. Among the persons who are there censured by name, some appear to be taxed with faults of practice only; but of others the opinions are condemned. Thus it is said of Hymenæus that he had “made shipwreck concerning the faith;” that he had “erred concerning the truth, saying that the resurrection is past already;” and Alexander and Philetus are included in the same charges.<sup>e</sup> In St. Paul’s Epistles, besides those passages which bear a controversial character on their surface, there are many in which a comparison with the language of early heresy may lead us to discern such a character.<sup>f</sup> And the same may be observed of other apostolical writings; those of St. John especially are throughout marked by a reference to prevailing errors, and to the language in which these were clothed. And long before the probable date of any Christian scripture, we meet with him who has always been regarded as the father of heresy—the magician Simon of Samaria.<sup>g</sup>

In reading of the ancient heretics we must remember that the accounts of them come from their enemies; and our own experience will show us how easily misunderstanding or misrepresentation of an opponent may creep in even where there is no unfair intention. We must not be too ready to believe evil;<sup>h</sup> we must beware of confound-

<sup>e</sup> I Tim. i. 19, 20; II Tim. ii. 17, 18.

<sup>f</sup> See Burton, ‘Bampt. Lectures,’ III. 1<sup>st</sup>; Matter, “Hist. du Gnosticisme,” t. I.

<sup>g</sup> Acts, viii. See Bull, v. 505.

<sup>h</sup> Evagrius (from whom such remarks might hardly have been expected), is pointing out the distinction between

ing the opinions of heresiarchs with those of their followers ; and especially we must beware of too easily supposing that the founders of sects were unprincipled or profligate men, since by so doing we should not only, in many cases, be wrong as to the fact, but should forego an important lesson. The "fruits" by which "false prophets" shall be known<sup>1</sup> are not to be sought in their own personal conduct (which may be inconsistent, either for the worse or for the better, with their teaching), but in the results which follow from their principles,—in their developed doctrines and maxims, and in those of their disciples.

But, on the other hand, if the ancients, and those who have implicitly followed them in treating such subjects, must be read with caution, it is no less necessary to be on our guard against the theories and statements of some moderns, who are ready to sympathize with every reputed heretic, to represent him as only too far elevated by genius and piety above the church of his own day, and conjecturally to fill up the gaps of his system, to explain away its absurdities, and to harmonize its contradictions. A writer who endeavours to enter into the mind of a heresiarch, and to trace the course of his ideas, is, indeed, more likely to help us towards an understanding of the matter than one who sets out with the presumption that the man's deliberate purpose was to vent detestable blasphemies, and to ruin the souls of his followers ; and we may often draw instruction or warning from Beausobre or Neander, where the orthodox vehemence of Epiphanius or Baronius would only tempt us to question whether opinions so extravagant as those which are imputed to

heathen and Christian varieties of opinion, vindicates the heretics from the charge of *intentional* impiety : each, he says, only thought to be

more correct than all before him. i. ii.

<sup>1</sup> St. Matt. vii. 15-16. See Tholuck in loc.

heretical parties could ever have been really held by any one. Yet we must not assume that things cannot have been because the idea of them appears monstrous ; we must remember that even the most ingenious conjecture may be mistaken ; and, if the conclusions of a system as to faith or morals are abominable, we may not speak of such a system with admiration or indulgence on account of any poetical beauty or philosophical depth which may appear to be mixed up with its errors.<sup>k</sup>

The systems of the earliest heretical teachers were for the most part of the class called Gnostic,<sup>l</sup>—a name which implies pretensions to more than ordinary knowledge. It is disputed whether St. Paul intended to refer to this sense of the word in his warning against “knowledge falsely so called ;”<sup>m</sup> but although it seems most likely that the peculiar use of the term did not begin until later, the thing itself certainly existed in the time of the apostles. The Gnostics were for the most part so remote in their tenets from the Christian belief that they would now be classed rather with utter aliens from the Gospel than with heretics ; but in early times the title of heretic was given to all who in any way whatever introduced the name of Christ into their systems, so that, as has been remarked, “if Mahomet had appeared in the second century, Justin Martyr or Irenæus would have spoken of him as an heretic.”<sup>n</sup> On looking at the strange opinions which are

<sup>k</sup> Mosheim, in the preface to his ‘*Ver-such einer unpartheiischen Ketzer-geschichte*,’ has good remarks on this subject.

<sup>l</sup> This name, however, was not assumed in common by the sects, but was applied to them by others. The Carpocratians—the worst and most immoral sect of all—or a party among these—are said by Irenæus to have been the only Gnostics who styled themselves so (I. xxv. 6), while the author

of the ‘*Philosophumena*’ refers the assumption of the name to the Ophites (v. 6). See Matter, i. 316 ; Harvey Introd. to Irenæus, lxxviii., and on the meaning of the term, see ib. lx. lxi.

<sup>m</sup> I Tim. v. 20 ; where the word *ἀντιθέσεις* (*oppositions*) has been referred to the gnostic doctrine of opposition between the kingdoms of light and darkness. Matter, i. 207-8.

<sup>n</sup> Burton, Bampton. Lect. 12.

thus brought before us, we may wonder how they could ever have been adopted by any to whom the Christian faith had been made known. But a consideration of the circumstances will lessen our surprise ; Gnosticism is in truth not to be regarded as a corruption of Christianity, but as an adoption of some Christian elements into a system of different origin.

At the time when the Gospel appeared, a remarkable mixture had taken place in the existing systems of religion and philosophy. The Jews had during their captivity become acquainted with the Chaldæan and Persian doctrines : many of them had remained in the east, and a constant communication was kept up between the descendants of these and their brethren of the Holy Land. Thus the belief of the later Jews had been much tinged with oriental ideas, especially as to angels and spiritual beings. The prevailing form of Greek philosophy—the Platonic—had, from the first, contained elements of eastern origin ; and in later days the intercourse of nations had led to a large adoption of foreign additions. The great city of Alexandria, in particular, which was afterwards to be the cradle of Gnosticism, became a centre of philosophical speculations. In its schools were represented the doctrines of Egypt, of Greece, of Palestine, and indirectly those of Persia and Chaldæa—themselves affected by the systems of India and the further east.<sup>o</sup> The prevailing tone of mind was eclectic ; all religions were regarded as having in them something divine, while no one was supposed to possess a full and sufficient revelation.<sup>p</sup> Hence ideas were borrowed from one to fill up the deficiency of another. Hence systems became so intermingled, and were so modified by each other, that learned men have differed as to the origin of Gnosticism

<sup>o</sup> Matter, i. 127. On the likenesses between Gnosticism and Indian sys-

tems see Lassen, 'Indische Alterthums kunde,' iii. 380-405. <sup>p</sup> Matter, i. 45.

—some referring it chiefly to Platonism,<sup>4</sup> while others trace it to oriental sources.<sup>7</sup> Hence, too, we can understand how Christianity came to be combined with notions so strangely unlike itself. The same eclectic principle which had produced the fusion of other systems, led speculative minds to adopt something from the Gospel; they took only so much as was suitable for their purpose, and they interpreted this at will. The substance of each system is Platonic, or oriental, or derived from the later Judaism; the Scriptural terms which are introduced are used in senses altogether different from that which they bear in Christian theology.

The especial characteristic of the Gnostics was (as has been stated) a pretension to superior knowledge.<sup>5</sup> By this the more elevated spirits were to be distinguished from the vulgar, for whom faith and traditional opinion were said to be sufficient; the Gnostics sometimes complained of it as an injustice that they were excluded from the communion of the church, whereas they were willing to leave the multitude in possession of the common creed, and only claimed for themselves the privilege of understanding doctrine in an inner and more refined sense.<sup>6</sup> On such a principle the Old Testament had been interpreted by Philo of Alexandria, the type of a Platonizing Jew;<sup>8</sup> and now the principle was applied to the New Testament, from which texts were produced by way of sanction for it.<sup>9</sup> As for the older Scriptures, the Gnostics

<sup>4</sup> Matter, i. 72; Burton, Bampton Lect. note 7. This is the view of the early fathers. See Kaye's Tertullian, 449.

<sup>7</sup> Mosheim, Inst. Maj. 341; Brucker, ii. 643.

<sup>5</sup> Both Pythagoras and Plato had used the word *γνώσις* to signify the highest knowledge; and the distinction of grades is common to eastern

religions. Matter, i. 51; Brucker, ii. 642.

<sup>6</sup> Iren. iii. 15.

<sup>8</sup> Matter, i. 60. The principle of the Cabala is the same. (Burton, Bampton Lect. 303.) See on Philo, Dr. John W. Donaldson's 'Hist. of Greek Literature,' iii. 127.

<sup>9</sup> Such as I Cor. ii. 6. See Matter, vol. i.



either rejected them altogether, or perverted them by an unlimited license of allegorical explanation.

We find, as common to all the Gnostic systems, a belief in one supreme God, dwelling from eternity in the *pleroma*, or fulness of light. From him proceed forth successive generations of *æons*, or spiritual beings, the chief of which appear from their names to be impersonated attributes of the Deity;<sup>y</sup> and in proportion as these emanations are more remote from the primal source, the likeness of his perfections in them becomes continually fainter.<sup>z</sup> Matter is regarded as eternal, and as essentially evil. Out of it the world was formed, not by the supreme God, but by the *Demiurge*—a being who is represented by some heresiarchs as merely a subordinate and unconscious instrument of the divine will, but by others as positively malignant, and hostile to the Supreme. This Demiurge (or creator) was the national God of the Jews—the God of the Old Testament; according, therefore, as *he* is viewed in each system, the Mosaic economy is either acknowledged as preparatory to a higher dispensation or rejected as evil.<sup>a</sup> Christ was sent into the world to deliver man

<sup>y</sup> This is an Oriental feature. The name of *æons* (*αἰῶνες*) was given by Valentinus, but for the sake of convenience may be used in describing systems earlier than his. “‘Comme le temps,’ dit Damascene [De Fid. Orthod. ii. 1] ‘est la durée des êtres fragiles et passagers, *aion* est celle des êtres éternels.’ C’est là, si je ne me trompe, ce qui a donné occasion d’appeler *aïones* les substances immortelles. . . Clément d’Alexandrie a dit qu’ ‘*aion* représente à la fois, et réunit comme en un seul instant, toutes les parties du temps, le passé, le présent, et l’avenir.’ [Strom. i. 13.] Cela veut dire, que ce terme présente à l’esprit l’idée d’un être qui a existé, qui existe, et qui existera toujours.” (Beausobre, ‘Hist de Mani-

chée,’ i. 570.) Theodoret censures the use of the word to denote living beings, whereas it properly means duration, whether finite or infinite. (Hær. v. 6.) Gieseler (I. i. 188) defines it, in its gnostic application, as meaning “developments of the divine essence, which, as being such, are raised above the limitations of time.”

<sup>z</sup> Burton, B. L. 37-7; Matter, i. 17.

<sup>a</sup> The opposition to the Demiurge was in some cases carried to an almost incredible length, so as to reverse the characters of Scripture history. Among the Ophites (from *ὄφις*, *a serpent*)—a sect which began in the second century, and lasted even into the sixth (Giesel. I. i. 190)—there were some who supposed the serpent of Genesis iii. to



from the tyranny of the Demiurge. But the Christ of Gnosticism was neither very God nor very man; his spiritual nature, as being an emanation from the supreme God, was necessarily inferior to its original; and, on the other hand, an emanation from God could not dwell in a material, and consequently evil, body. Either, therefore, Jesus was a mere man, on whom the æon Christ descended at his baptism, to forsake him again before his crucifixion; or the body with which Christ seemed to be clothed was a phantom, and all his actions were only in appearance.<sup>b</sup>

Since matter was evil, the Gnostic was required to overcome it; but here arose an important practical difference among the sectaries; for while some of them sought the victory by a high ascetic abstraction from the things of sense, the baser kind professed to show their knowledge by wallowing in impurity and excess.<sup>c</sup> The same view as to the evil nature of matter led to a denial of the resurrection of the body. The Gnostic could admit no other than a spiritual resurrection; the object

have been either the Divine Wisdom or the Christ himself—come in order to set men free from the ignorance in which the Demiurge (*Jaldabaoth*, son of darkness or chaos) wished to enthrall them. (Iren. i. 30; Epiph. Hær. 37. See also Mosheim, 'Versuch einer unpartheiischen Ketzergeschichte,—Die Schlangenbrüder,' 72, &c. Helmst. 1746.) The Cainites, another sect of the same kind, ran into perhaps a yet wilder extravagance. They held that the books of both the Old and the New Testament were the work of writers who had been inspired by the Demiurge to give a false colouring to the story; that the real worthies were those who are reprobated in Scripture—such as Cain, Esau, the men of Sodom, Korah, &c.; that the only spiritual apostle was Judas Iscariot,

who betrayed his Master because he knew that the consequence would be to deliver man from the Demiurge, and had left a gospel of his own, which the Cainites supposed themselves to possess! Iren. I. xxxi. 1; Epiph. xxxviii.

<sup>b</sup> The latter view was called *Docetism* (from *δοκέω*, to seem). A distinct sect of Docetes arose in the middle of the second century (Matter, iii. 30); but the term is generally used to denote the *opinion*, as held in common by various sects.

<sup>c</sup> Burton, B. L. 138; Neand. ii. 26. The Carpocratians held that it was a duty to "go through all sorts of actions." (Iren. I. xxv. 4.) Against both the asceticism and the sensuality of Gnostics, see Clem. Alex. Strom. i. iii.

of his philosophy was to emancipate the spirit from its gross and material prison ; at death, the soul of the perfect Gnostic, having already risen in baptism, was to be gathered into the bosom of God, while such souls as yet lacked their full perfection were to work it out in a course of transmigrations.<sup>d</sup> The contest of good with evil (it was taught) is to end in the victory of good. Every spark of life which originally came from God will be purified and restored, will return to its source, and will dwell with him for ever in the pleroma.

After this general sketch of the Gnostic doctrines, we may proceed to notice in detail a few of the most prominent among the early heretical systems.<sup>e</sup>

I. First among the precursors of Gnosticism stands Simon, usually styled Magus or the Sorcerer, a native of the Samaritan village of Gittum, as to whom our information is partly derived from Scripture itself.<sup>f</sup> He is supposed to have studied at Alexandria ;<sup>g</sup> and, on returning to his native country, he advanced high spiritual pretensions, "giving out that himself was some great one," and being generally acknowledged by the Samaritans as "the great power of God."<sup>h</sup> Simon belonged to a class of adventurers not uncommon in his day, who addressed themselves especially to that desire of intercourse with a

<sup>d</sup> Burton, B. L. 130-1, 423-7.

<sup>e</sup> There is much information as to Gnosticism in Mr. Harvey's Introduction to Irenæus, where the statements of the 'Philosophumena' (see below, ch. V.), are compared with those of Irenæus and other writers. The only practicable classification of the Gnostics appears to be the geographical. Matter divides them into Syrian, Alexandrian, and Asiatic, and criticises the attempts of Neander and others to arrange them according to their tenets (i. 320-3 ; comp. Hagenbach, i. 46). It

is found, however, that, according to the place of their origin, the various sects gave greater prominence to particular doctrines ; thus, the Alexandrian Gnosis had more of Platonism, and the Syrian of Parsism ; the Alexandrian of the emanative principle, the Syrian of dualism. (Giesel. I. i. 184.) Mr Harvey criticises Matter's division, lxxv.

<sup>f</sup> Just. Mart. Apol. i. 26.

<sup>g</sup> Walch, i. 142-4 ; Kaye's Justin Martyr, 126.

<sup>h</sup> Acts, viii. 9, 10.

higher world which was then widely felt. Their doctrines were a medley of Jewish, Greek, and Oriental notions; they affected mysteries and revelations; they practised the arts of conjuration and divination; and it would seem that in many of them there was a mixture of conscious imposture with self-delusion and superstitious credulity.<sup>l</sup> Simon's reception of baptism, and his attempt to buy the privilege of conferring the Holy Ghost, may be interpreted as tokens of a belief that the apostles, through a knowledge of higher secrets or a connexion with superior intelligences, possessed in a greater degree the same theurgic power to which he himself pretended.<sup>k</sup> The feeling of awe with which he was struck by St. Peter's reproof and exhortation would seem to have been of very short continuance.<sup>l</sup>

It is said that he afterwards roved through various countries, choosing especially those which the Gospel had not yet reached, and endeavouring to preoccupy the ground by his own system, into which the name of Christ was now introduced; that he bought at Tyre a beautiful prostitute, named Helena, who became the companion of his wanderings;<sup>m</sup> that in the reign of Claudius he went to Rome, where he acquired great celebrity, and was honoured with a statue in the island of the Tiber;<sup>n</sup> that

<sup>l</sup> See Neand. i. 41; Schaff, 218-9.

<sup>k</sup> Matter, i. 259; Milman, ii. 96.

<sup>l</sup> Neander 'Pflanzung u. Leitung,' 107.

<sup>m</sup> Iren. I. xiii. 2; Hippolyt. vi. 14.

<sup>n</sup> The first authority for this is Justin Martyr, who states (Apol. i. 26, 56) that the statue bore the inscription, *Simoni Deo Sancto*. In 1574 a fragment, with an inscription beginning *Semoni Sancto Deo*, was discovered in the very place described; and it has since been generally supposed that Justin—being imperfectly acquainted with Latin, knowing little of the Roma-

mythology, and having his mind pre-occupied by the thought of Simon Magus, confounded him with Semo Sancus, a Sabine deity, who was identified with Hercules, and had a temple in the island where the inscription was found. (See Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 510.) Tillemont (ii. 481), the Bollandists (Acta §§, Jun. 29, p. 369); Reeves (Transl. of Apologies, i. 50, ed. 1716), Burton (B. L. n. 42), Guericke (i. 250), and others, however, maintain the correctness of the story; as does also Dr. Pusey, although less positively (n. on Tertullian, i. 32). A

he there disputed with St. Peter and St. Paul (a circumstance which, if true, must be referred to a later visit, in the reign of Nero); that he attempted to fly in the air, and was borne up by his familiar demons, until at the prayer of St. Peter he fell to the earth; and that he died soon after, partly of the hurt which he had received, and partly of vexation at his discomfiture.<sup>o</sup> Fabulous as parts of this story evidently are, it is yet possible that they may have had some foundation. There is no apparent reason for denying that Simon may have visited Rome, and may there have had contests with the two great apostles; and even the story of his flying may have arisen from an attempt which was really made by a Greek adventurer in the reign of Nero.<sup>p</sup>

Simon is said to have taught that God existed from eternity in the depth of inaccessible light; that from him proceeded the Thought or Conception of his mind (*Ennoia*); that from God and the *Ennoia* emanated by successive generations pairs of male and female æons. The *Ennoia*, issuing forth from the *pleroma*, produced a host of angels, by whom the world was made; and these angels, being ignorant of God and unwilling to acknowledge any author of their being, rose against their female

remembrance of the extraordinary sights which foreigners of undoubted veracity and intelligence profess to have seen in our own country may dispose us to set aside, with very little scruple, such arguments as are founded on the character of St. Justin. In like manner the mistakes of Anglo-American travellers in England may tell against the authority of the African-Latin fathers who repeat Justin's statement. Baron Bunsen notes it as significant, that the author of the '*Philosophumena*' (who, as one of the Roman clergy, must have had the best means of information), although he

follows St. Irenæus in his account of Simon, omits all notice of the statue, as to which Irenæus had copied Justin. '*Christianity and Mankind*,' i. 354.

<sup>o</sup> *Constitut. Apost.* vi. 9; Theodoret. *Hæz.* i. 1. Simon also figures in the pseudo-Clementine '*Recognitions*.' Hippolytus says that he made his disciples bury him, telling them that he would rise on the third day; but that he has never re-appeared, "for he was not the Christ." vi. 20.

<sup>p</sup> Sueton. *Ner.* 12; Juvenal, iii. 79. See Beausobre, i. 203; Burton, *B. L.* note 41.

parent, subjected her to various indignities, and imprisoned her in a succession of material bodies. Thus at one time she had animated the form of the beautiful wife of Menelaus; and at last she had taken up her abode in that of the Tyrian Helena, the companion of Simon. The Ennoia herself remained throughout a pure spiritual essence as at the first; the pollutions and degradations of the persons in whom she had dwelt attached only to their material bodies, and were a part of the oppressions inflicted on the divine æon.<sup>1</sup>

There are various statements as to the character which Simon claimed for himself. It has been said that he professed to be the supreme God, who (according to Simon) had revealed himself to the Samaritans as the Father, to the Jews as the Son, and to the Gentiles as the Holy Ghost;<sup>2</sup> but it would seem rather that by professing to be the "great power of God" he meant to identify himself with the chief male æon of his system.<sup>3</sup>

He taught that man was held in subjection by the angels who created the world; that not only were the Mosaic dispensation and the Old Testament prophecies to be referred to these, but the received distinctions of right and wrong were invented by them for the purpose of enslaving mankind;<sup>4</sup> and consequently that those who should trust in Simon and Helena need not concern themselves with the observance of any moral rules, since

<sup>1</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 2. Beausobre supposes the whole story of Helena to be an allegory relating to the soul. i. 35; ii. 324-5.

<sup>2</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 1; Epiphani. Hær. xxi. 1. See Bull, v. 270; Blunt on the Fathers, 489; Pressensé, ii. 199. Baron Bunsen infers from the 'Philosophumena' that these words referred to Jesus, and not to Simon (i. 352). St. Jerome represents Simon as having

said of himself in his writings, "Ego sum sermo Dei, ego sum speciosus, ego Paracletus, ego omnipotens, ego omnia Dei." In Matt. xxiv. 5 (t. vii. 176).

<sup>3</sup> Mosh. Inst. Maj. 391; Matter, i. 266; Burton, B. L. 388.

<sup>4</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 3; Hippol. vi. 19. See Waterland, v. 636; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 417; Matter, i. 286.

they were to be saved, not by works of righteousness, but by grace. Simon professed that he himself had descended from the highest heaven for the purpose of rescuing the Ennoia—"the lost sheep," as he termed her<sup>u</sup>—from the defilement of her fleshly prison, of revealing himself to men, and delivering them from the yoke of the angels. In passing through the spheres, he had in each assumed a suitable form; and thus on earth he appeared as a man.<sup>x</sup> He was the same æon who had been known as Jesus, the Messiah. The history of our Lord's life and death he explained on the docetic principle.<sup>y</sup> The resurrection of the body was denied; but as the soul, when set free, must pass through several spheres on its way to the pleroma, and as the angels of those spheres had the power of impeding its flight, it was necessary to propitiate them, evil as they were in themselves, by sacrifices.<sup>z</sup>

According to St. Epiphanius, Simon said that Helena was the Holy Spirit.<sup>a</sup> As, then, that Person of the Godhead was held by him to have enlightened the Gentiles—(not, however, in the Christian sense, but by means of the Greek philosophy<sup>b</sup>)—Helena was thus identified with the Greek goddess of wisdom, and was represented and worshipped in the character of Minerva, while Simon received like honours under the form of Jupiter.<sup>c</sup>

The followers of Simon were divided into various sects, which are said to have been addicted to necromancy and other magical arts, and to have carried out in practice his doctrine of the indifference of actions.<sup>d</sup> Justin Martyr

<sup>u</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 2; Hippol. vi. 19.

<sup>x</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 3; Hippol. vi. 19; Epiph. xxi. 2, 3; Mosh. Inst. Maj.

<sup>424</sup>

<sup>y</sup> Epiph. xxi. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Tertull. de Præscr. 33; Tillem. ii.

<sup>39</sup> Mosh. Inst. Maj. 418.

<sup>a</sup> xxi. 1.; Matter, i. 277.

<sup>b</sup> Matter, i. 265.

<sup>c</sup> Iren. i. xxiii. 4; Hippol. vi. 20; Matter, i. 280. [Perhaps I ought now to say *Athene* and *Zeus*. 1873.]

<sup>d</sup> Iren. I. xxiii. 4.



states that in his day (about A.D. 140) Simon was worshipped as the chief God by almost all the Samaritans, and had adherents in other countries ;<sup>e</sup> but the heresy declined so rapidly that Origen, about a century later, questions whether it had in the whole world so many as thirty adherents.<sup>f</sup>

II. Passing over Menander,<sup>g</sup> (whose doctrines were not so unlike those of his master, Simon, as to require a separate detail), and the Nicolaitans (as to whom nothing is known with certainty, beyond the denunciation of them in the Apocalypse<sup>h</sup>), the next considerable name which we meet with is that of Cerinthus, who rose into notoriety in the reign of Domitian.

Cerinthus was a native of Judæa, and, after having studied at Alexandria, established himself as a teacher in his own country ; but at a later time he removed to Ephesus, as being a more favourable scene for the diffusion of his opinions.<sup>i</sup> St. John, who had been confronted with the father of heresy in the earliest days of the Gospel, was reserved for a contest with Cerinthus in the church over which he had long presided ; both in his Gospel and in his Epistles a reference to the errors of this heresiarch appears to be strongly marked.<sup>k</sup>

Unlike his predecessors, Cerinthus was content to be a teacher, without claiming for himself any place in his scheme. This was a link between the opposite systems of Judaism and Gnosticism, and would seem to have been in itself inconsistent, although we have no means of judging how the inventor attempted to reconcile its elements.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Apol. i. 26.

<sup>f</sup> Contr. Cels. i. 57 ; vi. 11.

<sup>g</sup> See Just. Mart. Apol. i. 26 ; Iren. i. xxiii. 5 ; Epiphani. Hær. xxii.

<sup>h</sup> ii. 15. See Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 4, p. 522 ; Epiph. Hær. xxv.

<sup>i</sup> Theodoret. Hær. ii. 3 ; Tillem. ii. 54. See Stanley on the Apostolic Age, ed. 1, p. 214.

<sup>k</sup> Waterland, iii. 539. See above, p. 9.

<sup>l</sup> Matter, i. 298 ; Dorner, i. 314.



He taught that the world was made by an angel, remote from the supreme God, limited in capacity and in knowledge, ignorant of the Supreme, and yet unconsciously serving him. To this angel, and others of the same order, Cerinthus referred the Law and the Prophets; the Old Testament, therefore, was not in the Cerinthian system regarded as evil, but as imperfect and subordinate. The nature of the Demiurge fixed a level above which the mass of the Jewish people could not rise; but the elect among them had attained to a higher knowledge.<sup>m</sup> Jesus was represented as a real man, born in the usual way of Joseph and Mary, and chosen by God to be the Messiah on account of his eminent righteousness; the æon Christ descended on him at his baptism, revealing the Most High to him, and enduing him with the power of miracles, to be exercised for the confirmation of his doctrine. The Demiurge, jealous of finding his power thus invaded, stirred up the Jewish rulers to persecute Jesus; but before the crucifixion the æon Christ returned to the pleroma. By some it is said that Cerinthus admitted the resurrection of Jesus; by others, that he expected it to take place at the commencement of the millennium, when the human body was to be reunited with the Christ from heaven.<sup>n</sup> As it appears certain that Cerinthus allowed the resurrection of the body, he cannot have shared in the Gnostic views as to the inherently evil nature of matter.<sup>o</sup>

Although Christ had revealed the true spiritual Judaism, it was said that the outward preparatory system was to be retained in part during the present imperfect state of things; Cerinthus, therefore, required the observance of

<sup>m</sup> Iren. I. xxvi. 1; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 146-7, 456; Matter, i. 299; Neand. ii. 44.

<sup>n</sup> Iren. I. xxvi. 1; Epiph. Hær.

xxviii. 1; Theodoret. Hær. ii. 3; Burton, B. L. 176, 488; Dorner, i. 315-6.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. Inst. Maj. 446, 556.

such Jewish usages as Jesus had sanctioned by Himself submitting to them. The only part of the New Testament which he received was a mutilated Gospel of St. Matthew.<sup>p</sup>

The doctrine of an earthly reign of Christ with his saints for a thousand years has been referred to Cerinthus as its author ; and it has been said that his conceptions of the millennial happiness were grossly sensual. These assertions, however (which rest on the authority of Caius, a Roman presbyter, who wrote about the year 210<sup>q</sup>), have been much questioned. It seems clear that the millenarian opinions which soon after prevailed in the church were not derived from Cerinthus, and that it was a controversial artifice to throw odium on them by tracing them to so discreditable a source.<sup>r</sup> Nor, even if the morality of Cerinthus were as bad as his opponents represent it, can we well suppose him to have connected the notion of licentious indulgence with a state of bliss which was to have Christ for its sovereign.<sup>s</sup>

III. While the Gnostics, imbued with the ideas of vastness and complexity which are characteristic of oriental religions, looked down on Christianity as too simple,<sup>t</sup> it had also to contend with enemies of an opposite kind. We very early find traces of a Judaizing tendency ; and although the middle course adopted by the council of Jerusalem, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit,<sup>u</sup> was calculated to allay the differences which had arisen as to the obligation of the Mosaic law on those who had embraced the faith of Christ, oppositions on the side of

<sup>p</sup> Epiph. xxviii. 5 ; Mosh. Inst. Maj. 454-5 ; Neand. ii. 46.

<sup>q</sup> Ap. Euseb. i. 28 See Heinrichen's note, and Barton, B. L. n. 76. Dr. Lightfoot resolves Caius into Hippolytus. See below, ch. V.

<sup>r</sup> Mosh. Inst. Maj. 457 ; De Rebus Chr. 721-2 ; Maitland, 'Eruvin,' ed. 2. pp. 163-9.

<sup>s</sup> Schröckh, ii. 310.

<sup>t</sup> Neand. ii. 46

<sup>u</sup> Acts xv.

Judaism often recur in the books of the New Testament.

This Judaism at length issued in the formation of distinct sects. The name of Nazarenes, which had originally been applied to all Christians, became appropriated to the party which maintained that the law was binding on Christians of Jewish race, but did not wish to enforce it on Gentiles; while those who insisted on its obligation as universal were styled Ebionites. The Nazarenes are generally supposed to have been orthodox,<sup>x</sup> and to have been acknowledged as such by the church; the Ebionites were unquestionably heretical.

The name of the latter party has been variously derived—from that of a supposed founder, and from a Hebrew word which signifies *poor*.<sup>y</sup> The existence of Ebion is now generally disbelieved; but there remains the question how the title of *poor* came to be attached to the sect,—whether it was given by opponents, with a reference to the meagreness and beggarly character of their doctrines;<sup>z</sup> or whether it was assumed by themselves, as significant of their voluntary poverty, and with an allusion to the beatitude of the “poor in spirit.”<sup>a</sup> The formation of the sect,

<sup>x</sup> In their origin, at least, although they did not keep pace with the church's later investigations and definitions as to doctrine. They lasted until the fifth century. Dörner, i. 306-9. See Walch, i. 108-9; Matter, iii. 12-13.

<sup>y</sup> Origen gives the Hebrew derivation (De Princip. iv. 22; C. Cels. ii. 1). Tertullian is the earliest writer who speaks of Ebion as a person (De Præscr. 33). See, for authorities on both sides, Burton, B. L. note 80. In other cases of the same kind we find a like contest between what may be called the personal and the etymological views: e.g. as to Thebuthis, and as to the origin of the Nicolaitans and the Elxaites. It is easy to understand that a name given to a sect on account of its significance

may have been afterwards erroneously derived from the supposed name of an imaginary founder. But, on the other hand, as names were generally significant, it would seldom happen that the name of a heresiarch could not be somehow interpreted as referring to his doctrines. Perhaps we may find it useful for the determination of such questions to ask whether the names are so strikingly appropriate that they would probably have been *chosen* in order to characterize the sects.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. iii. 27.

<sup>a</sup> Neander, i. 476-7. Gieseler thinks that it may have been originally given in contempt by the Jews to all Christians. I. i. 131. See Uhlhorn, in Herzog, iii. 622.

as such, is dated by some in the reign of Domitian, or earlier.<sup>b</sup> By others it is supposed that the separation of both Ebionites and Nazarenes from the church took place as late as A.D. 136-8, and that it was caused by the adoption of Gentile usages in the church of Jerusalem ;<sup>c</sup> while a third view connects the schism of the Ebionites with the statement of Hegesippus,<sup>d</sup> that one Thebuthis, having been disappointed in aspiring to the bishoprick of Jerusalem, began to corrupt the church—a supposition by which the origin of Ebionism would be fixed about the year 107.<sup>e</sup>

In opposition to the Gnostics, the Ebionites held that the world was the work of God himself.<sup>f</sup> As to the person of Christ, although some of them are said to have admitted his miraculous birth,<sup>g</sup> while they denied his Godhead and his pre-existence, they for the most part supposed him to be a mere man, the offspring of Joseph and Mary, and chosen to be the Messiah and Son of God because he alone of men had fulfilled the law.<sup>h</sup> They believed that this high destination was unknown to him, until at his baptism it was revealed by Elijah, in the person of John the Baptist ;<sup>i</sup> and that he then received a heavenly<sup>k</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Tillem. ii. 107 ; Schröckh, ii. 317.

<sup>c</sup> See above, p. 29. Mosh. 326 ; Gibbon, i. 461 ; Neand. i. 475-6 ; Schlie-mann, 407.

<sup>d</sup> Ap. Euseb. iv. 22.

<sup>e</sup> This is the opinion of Gieseler, who shows (I. i. 130) that the bishop whom Thebuthis wished to succeed was more likely Symeon than James the Just.

<sup>f</sup> Iren. I. xxvi. 2.

<sup>g</sup> See Burton, B. L. n. 83. For a refutation of the heterodox writers who have attempted to represent Ebionism as the characteristic not of a sect but of a period (so that, according to their view, the first Christians were Ebion-

ites), see the same note ; also Schlie-mann, 369 ; Dorner, i. 222, 230, 265, 342.

<sup>h</sup> Hippol. vii. 34.

<sup>i</sup> Thus an idea which the Jews of the time entertained as to their expected Messiah (Just. Mart. Dial. c. Tryph. 8) was transferred to the real Saviour.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. V. i. 3 ; Epiph. Hær. xxx. 2. In the Gospel of the Ebionites the voice from heaven at the Saviour's baptism was said to have uttered the words, "Thou art my beloved Son, in whom I am well pleased. . . . I have *this day* begotten thee." Ellicott on the Apocryphal Gospels, in Cambridge Essays, 1856, p. 180.

influence, which forsook him again before his crucifixion.<sup>1</sup>

It would seem that the Ebionites were divided as to their view of the Old Testament. Some of them supposed Christianity to differ from the law only by the addition of certain features;<sup>m</sup> while the adepts regarded it as a restoration of the genuine Mosaic system, which they supposed to have been corrupted in the Hebrew Scriptures.<sup>n</sup> These more advanced members of the sect considered Moses to be the only true prophet; they rejected, not only the later Jewish traditions, but the whole of the Old Testament except the Pentateuch; and even it they did not admit as the work of Moses himself, but, by ascribing it to reporters, who were supposed to have wilfully or ignorantly corrupted his words, they found a pretext for rejecting so much of it as did not fall in with their principles.<sup>o</sup> Of the New Testament they admitted no part, except a Hebrew Gospel of St. Matthew, in which the account of our Lord's birth was omitted. They relied much on apocryphal scriptures, and were especially hostile to St. Paul.<sup>p</sup>

Although some corruptions of morals are attributed to the later Ebionites,<sup>q</sup> the practice of the sect in its earlier days was undoubtedly strict. Some parties among them renounced all property, and abstained not only from the flesh of animals, but from their produce, such as eggs and milk.<sup>r</sup> In their worship and polity they affected Jewish usages and terms; they practised circumcision and ceremonial ablutions; they rigidly observed the

<sup>1</sup> Orig. c. Cels. v. 61; Theodoret. Hær. ii. 1. Gieseler supposes that Origen, in speaking of a difference among the Ebionites on this point, includes the Nazarenes under the name (I. ii. 131). Schliemann and others understand the distinction to be between two classes of the Ebionites

properly so called.

<sup>m</sup> Neand. i. 479.

<sup>n</sup> Schliemann, 377, 498.

<sup>o</sup> Epiph. xxx. 18; Schliemann. 514.

<sup>p</sup> Iren. I. xxvi. 2; Epiph. xxx. 15-16; Hieron. in Matt. xii. 2 (Patrol. xxvi.).

<sup>q</sup> Epiph. xxx. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 15, 17, 22.

Jewish Sabbath; they had "synagogues," "rulers," and the like. They celebrated the eucharist with unleavened bread, and used only water in the cup.<sup>s</sup> Like the Cerinthians, they held the doctrine of an earthly reign of Christ, who was to make Jerusalem the seat of his power, to subdue all enemies, and to raise the Jewish kingdom to a splendour before unknown.<sup>t</sup>

Ebionism continued to exist in Syria and Peræa as late as the end of the fourth century.<sup>u</sup>

IV. Menander, who has been mentioned as the successor of Simon Magus, is said to have been the master of two noted heretics, who may be considered as the founders respectively of the Syrian and of the Alexandrian gnosticism—Saturninus and Basilides.\*

Saturninus, who was born at Antioch, and there established his school,<sup>y</sup> taught that the supreme God, or "Unknown Father," produced a multitude of spiritual beings; that in the lowest gradation of the spiritual world, close on the borders which separate the realm of light from the chaos of matter were seven angels, the rulers of the planets; and that these angels took a portion from the material mass and shaped it into a world, the regions of which they divided among themselves—the God of the Jews being their chief.<sup>z</sup> A bright shape, let down for a moment from the distant source of light, and then withdrawn, excited new desires and projects in them: unable as they were to seize and to fix the dazzling image, they endeavoured to frame a man after its likeness; but their creature was

<sup>s</sup> Iren. I. xxvi. 2; Epiph. xxx. 15, 16, 18, 21.

<sup>t</sup> Iren. loc. cit.; Burton, B. L. 184; Neand. i. 481; Matter, iii. 19.

<sup>u</sup> Giesel. I. i. 131. For the smaller varieties—Elxaites &c.—see Matter,

iii. 19, seqq.; Giesel. I. i. 132; Burton. Ch. Hist. ii. 20.

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. iv. 7. See Clinton, A.D. 134.

<sup>y</sup> See Clinton, ii. 403.

<sup>z</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 2; Hippol. vii. 26; Epiph. xxiii. 1.

A.D. 110-

134.



only able to grovel on the earth like a worm, until the Father in pity sent down to it a spark of his own divine life.<sup>a</sup> But in opposition to the elect race, Satan, the lord of Matter, with whom the angels carried on an unceasing warfare, produced an unholy race, and the elect, while they sojourn in this world, are exposed to assaults from him and from his agents, both human and spiritual.<sup>b</sup> The Old Testament was in part given by the seven angels, especially by the God of the Jews, and in part by Satan.<sup>c</sup> In order to deliver the elect from their enemies, and also from their subjection to the God of the Jews and the other planetary angels, who aimed at establishing an independent kingdom, the Father sent down the æon *Nous* (Mind), or Christ, clothed with a phantastic body.<sup>d</sup> At the consummation of all things, according to Saturninus, the bodies of the elect were to be resolved into their elements, while the soul was to re-enter into the bosom of the unknown Father, from whom it had been derived.<sup>e</sup>

The precepts of Saturninus were strictly ascetic ; he forbade marriage and the propagation of mankind ;<sup>f</sup> but it would seem that the more rigid observances were required only of the highest grade among his followers.<sup>g</sup> The sect did not extend beyond Syria, and soon came to an end.

V. Basilides, who became conspicuous about the year 125,<sup>h</sup> is said to have been, like Saturninus, a Syrian ; but it was at Alexandria that he fixed himself,<sup>i</sup> and the

<sup>a</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 1 ; Hippol. I. c.

<sup>b</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 1-2. On this point there is some difference. See Mosh. 336-8 ; Matter, i. 333, 342 ; Giesel. I. i. 191 ; Ritter, v. 119.

<sup>c</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 2 ; Hippol. I. c.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. I. c.

<sup>e</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 1 ; Mosh. 340 ; Mat-

ter, i. 337.

<sup>f</sup> Hippol. I. c. ; Epiph. xxiii. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Mosh. 341 ; Matter, i. 346.

<sup>h</sup> Giesel. I. i. 185. Clinton (ii. 403) places him in 134. See Harvey, Introd. to Irenæus, xci.

<sup>i</sup> Epiph. xxiii. 1 ; xxiv. 1 ; Matter, i.

402.



leading character of his system was Egyptian.<sup>k</sup> He taught that from the Supreme God were evolved by successive generation seven intelligences (which were, in fact, personified attributes)—Understanding, Word, Thought, Wisdom, Power, Righteousness, and Peace.<sup>l</sup> These gave birth to a second order of spirits; the second to a third; and the course of emanations continued until there were three hundred and sixty-five orders, each consisting of seven spirits, and each with a heaven of its own; while every heaven, with its inhabitants, was an inferior antitype of that immediately above it. The number of the heavens was expressed in the Greek notation by the letters of the word *Abraxas* or *Abrasax* (Ἀβρασαξ),<sup>m</sup> which the most approved interpretations derive from the Coptic, and explain as meaning *new word* or *sacred word*.<sup>n</sup> The same name was used also to denote the providence which directs the universe—not the supreme God as he is in himself (since he is represented as “not to be named”), but God in so far as he is manifested, or the collective hierarchy of emanations.<sup>o</sup>

The angels of the lowest heaven (which is that which

<sup>k</sup> Hippolytus deduces it from Aristotle (vii. 14), but afterwards says, *σχολάσας κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον, καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν τὴν τοσαύτην σοφίαν διδάχθεις, ἐκαρποφόρησε τοιοῦτους καρπούς* (vii. 27, fin.). *Σχολάσας* seems to mean “having studied,” rather than, as the editor, Duncker (p. 379), translates it, “qui docuit.”

<sup>l</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 3. See Ritter, v. 125-8. These might have been derived either from the seven Amshaspands of the Zoroastrian creed (see Döllinger, ‘Heidenth. u. Judenth.’ 360), or from the seven Sephiroth of the Cabala. But since they are spoken of as forming, with the Supreme, the first *ogdoad* (octave), M. Matter thinks that they

are rather to be traced to the Egyptian system, in which that term was used.

<sup>m</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 3; Hippol. vii. 26; Neand. ii. 49.

<sup>n</sup> “New word,” according to Münster; “sacred word,” according to Beller-mann. (Matter, i. 415.) See other interpretations in Beausobre, ii. 53, seqq. The word occurred also in Egyptian mythology. On the stones known as Abraxas gems, see the article *Abraxas*, by Matter, in Herzog’s Encyclopædia.

<sup>o</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 7; Matter, i. 412; Gieseler, I. i. 186. Mosheim explains it differently (347).

is visible from earth) formed the world and its inhabitants after a pattern shown to them by the æon *Sophia* or Wisdom.<sup>p</sup> The chief angel of this order, who is called the *Archon*, or Ruler, was the God of the Jews, while the other regions of the world were divided by lot among his brother angels ;<sup>q</sup> and, in consequence of the Archon's desire to exalt his own people above the rest of mankind, the other angels had stirred up the Gentiles to enmity against the Jews.<sup>r</sup> The Pentateuch was given by the Archon: the prophecies came from the other angels.<sup>s</sup>

Man received from the creative angels a soul which is the seat of the senses and of the passions ; and in addition to this the supreme God bestowed on him a rational and higher soul, which the inferior soul is continually endeavouring to weaken.<sup>t</sup> Although Basilides cannot rightly be described as a dualist,<sup>u</sup> he held that throughout all nature there had been an encroachment of evil on good, "like rust on steel,"<sup>x</sup> and that the object of the present state was to enable the souls of men (which, as they had come from God, could never perish, but must return to him) to disengage themselves from the entanglements of evil. The knowledge of God had become faint among men ; the Archon himself, although he had served as an instrument of the Supreme in giving the Law, was yet ignorant of its true character—of its spiritual significancy and its preparatory office—which the spiritual among the Jews had alone been able to discern.<sup>y</sup> In order, then, to enlighten mankind, to deliver them from the limited system of the Archon, and

<sup>p</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 13, p. 603 ;  
Mosh. 350.

<sup>q</sup> Epiph. xxiv. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 4.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>t</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 20, p. 488 ;

Mosh. 343 ; Matter, ii. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Matter, i. 407.

<sup>x</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 12, p. 603 ;  
Ritter, v. 133.

<sup>y</sup> Neand. ii. 58 ; Ritter, v. 141.

enable them to rise towards the Supreme, the first-begotten æon, *Nous* or Understanding, descended on Jesus, the holiest of men, at his baptism;<sup>z</sup> and by this manifestation the Archon learnt for the first time his own real place in the scale of the universe. The later Basilidians represented him as exasperated by the discovery, so that he instigated the Jews to persecute Jesus; but it is a question whether the founder of the sect shared in this view,<sup>a</sup> or whether he supposed the Archon to have reverently acquiesced in the knowledge of his inferior position.<sup>b</sup>

The doctrine of an atonement was inconsistent with the principles of Basilides. He allowed no other justification than that of advancement in sanctification,<sup>c</sup> and laid it down that every one suffers for his own sins. God, he said, forgives no sins but such as are done unwillingly or in ignorance;<sup>d</sup> all other sins must be expiated, and, until the expiation be complete, the soul must pass, under the guidance of its guardian angels, through one body after another,—not only human bodies, but also those of the lower creatures.<sup>e</sup> And thus such suffering as cannot be traced to any visible cause is to be regarded as the purgation of sin committed in some former existence, while the death of the innocent may be the punishment of germs of evil which would have grown up if life had been continued. On this principle Basilides even accounted for the sufferings of

<sup>z</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 4. The festival of Christ's baptism was kept with great solemnity by the sect Jan. 6. Clem. Alex. Strom. i. 21, p. 408; Giesel. I. i. 186.

<sup>a</sup> This is the opinion of the older writers, for the most part, and of Matter. ii. 8.

<sup>b</sup> So Clem. Alex. Strom. ii. 8, p. 449; Hippol. viii. 23, 26; Neand.

ii. 63; Giesel. I. i. 186.

<sup>c</sup> Neand. ii. 66.

<sup>d</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. 24.

<sup>e</sup> Origen. in Rom. v. 1 (t. iv. p. 549); Neand. ii. 54, 57; Matter, ii. 3. Thus Basilides explained the visiting of sins "to the third and fourth generation." Excerpta ex Theodoto, 28, ap. Clem. Alex. t. ii. 976.

the man Jesus himself;<sup>f</sup> and by such theories he intended to justify the providential government of the world, as to which he is reported to have declared that he would "rather say anything than find fault with Providence."<sup>g</sup>

While the Gnostics in general spoke of faith and knowledge as opposites, Basilides taught that faith must run through the whole spiritual progress, and that the degrees of knowledge increase in proportion as faith becomes fitted to receive them.<sup>h</sup> He divided his disciples into several grades; in order to admission among the highest adepts, a silence of five years was required.<sup>i</sup> The authorities on which Basilides chiefly relied were some prophecies which bore the names of Ham, Parchor, Barcobas, and Barcoph, with an esoteric tradition which he professed to derive from St. Matthias, and from Glaucias, an interpreter of St. Peter.<sup>k</sup> He dealt with the New Testament in an arbitrary way; he did not reject St. Paul, but placed him below St. Peter, and declared some of the epistles ascribed to him to be spurious.<sup>l</sup>

This system became more popular than any that had preceded it,<sup>m</sup> and St. Jerome informs us that even in the fifth century Basilidianism continued to exist.<sup>n</sup> The doctrines of the sect, however, were much corrupted in the course of time. The view of Judaism was altered, so that the Archon came to be regarded as opposed to the supreme God; and consequently the Gnostic was at liberty to trample on all that had proceeded from the

<sup>f</sup> Clem. Strom. iv. 12, p. 60; Mosh. 353-7; Matter, i. 432; ii. 9; Kaye on Clem. Alex. 266; Ritter, v. 131.

<sup>g</sup> Clem. loc. cit.

<sup>h</sup> Neand. ii. 67-8.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. iv. 7; Matter, ii. 18.

<sup>k</sup> Hippol. vii. 20; Clem. Strom.

vii. 17, pp. 898, 900; Theodoret, Hæc i. 4.

<sup>l</sup> Matter, i. 404.

<sup>m</sup> Matter, ii. 17

<sup>n</sup> Ep. lxxv. 3. He speaks of it as then lately rampant in Spain.

inferior power, to disregard all the laws of morality.<sup>o</sup> Instead of the doctrine which Basilides held in common with some other sectaries, that the æon who descended on Jesus at baptism forsook him before his crucifixion, a strange docetic fancy was introduced—that his body was phantastical, and that he transferred his own form to Simon of Cyrene, who suffered in his stead on the cross, while Jesus in the form of Simon stood by and derided the executioners. The Gnostic, therefore, was not to confess the crucifixion, but those who should own it were still under bondage to the Archon.<sup>p</sup> The later Basilidians made no scruple of eating idol sacrifices, or of taking part in heathen rites and festivities; they denied their faith in time of persecution, and mocked at martyrdom as a folly, inasmuch as the person for whose sake it was borne was, according to their doctrine, merely the crucified Simon.<sup>q</sup> They were also addicted to magic; he, it was said, who should master the whole system, who should know the names and origin of all the angels, would become superior, invisible, and incomprehensible to them.<sup>r</sup> Most of the gems which are found inscribed with the mystical *Abraxas* are supposed to have been used by the sect as amulets or talismans, although it is certain that some of these symbols were purely heathen.<sup>s</sup>

VI. Of all the Gnostic leaders Valentinus was the most eminent for ability; his system was distinguished beyond the rest for its complex and elaborate character, and it surpassed them all in popularity.

<sup>o</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 5; Mosh. 358; Neand. ii. 114; Matter, ii. 21. It is the later Basilidianism that Irenæus describes; for the earlier system Clement of Alexandria is the chief authority. Giesel. I. i. 186.

<sup>p</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 4.

<sup>q</sup> Epiph. xxiv. 4; Matter, ii. 24.

<sup>r</sup> Iren. I. xxiv. 6.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 349, 350; Schröckh, ii. 351. Matter, ii. 421; Giesel. I. i. 186.

Valentinus is supposed to have been of Jewish descent, but was a native of Egypt, and studied at Alexandria. He appears to have been brought up as a Christian, or at least to have professed Christianity in early life; and hence his doctrine, with all its wildness, had a greater infusion of scriptural language and ideas than those of the older Gnostic teachers.<sup>u</sup> Tertullian asserts that he became a heresiarch on being disappointed of a bishoprick; but it does not appear in what stage of his career the disappointment occurred, and the truth of the story has been altogether questioned.<sup>x</sup> It was about the year 140 that he visited Rome, where Irenæus states that he remained from the pontificate of Hyginus to that of Anicetus.<sup>y</sup> At Rome, where the church, in its simple and severe orthodoxy, was less tolerant of novelties than that from which Valentinus had come,<sup>z</sup> he was twice excommunicated; and on his final exclusion he retired to Cyprus, where he wrought out and published his system. His death is supposed to have taken place about 160,—whether in Cyprus or at Rome is uncertain.<sup>a</sup>

In his doctrines Valentinus appears to have borrowed from the religions of Egypt and of Persia, from the Cabala, from Plato, Pythagoras, and the Hesiodic theogony.<sup>b</sup> He supposed a first principle, self-existent and perfect, to whom he gave the name of *Bythos* (*i.e.* unfathomable depth). This being, who from eternity had existed in repose, at length resolved to manifest himself; from him and the *Ennoia* or Conception of his mind, who was also named *Charis* (Grace), or *Sige* (Silence),

<sup>t</sup> Tillem. ii. 257.

<sup>u</sup> Mosh. 376.

<sup>x</sup> Tert. adv. Valentinianos, 4; see Mosheim, 372; Matter, ii. 38; Ritter, vi. 194.

<sup>y</sup> Iren. III. iv. 3; Clinton, ii. 401.

<sup>z</sup> Matter, ii. 46.

<sup>a</sup> Tillem. ii. 258-9, 603; Mosh. 371.

<sup>b</sup> Hippol. vi. 21, seqq., 37; Hooper's (Bishop of Bath and Wells) Works, ed. Oxf. 1757, pp. 309, seqq.; Mosh. 375; Matter, ii. 57-8; Ritter, vi. 192-3.



were produced a pair of æons,—the male styled *Nous* (Understanding), or *Monogenes* (Only-begotten); the female, *Aletheia* (Truth). From these, by successive generations, emanated two other pairs,—*Logos* (the Word, or Reason) and *Zoë* (Life); *Anthropos* (Man) and *Ecclesia* (the Church). Thus was composed the first grade of beings—the *ogdoad*, or octave.<sup>c</sup> Next, from *Logos* and *Zoë* were produced five pairs of æons,—the *decad*; and then, from *Anthropos* and *Ecclesia*, six pairs,—the *dodecad*; making up in all the number of thirty.<sup>d</sup> In addition to these there was an unwedded æon, named *Horos* (Boundary), or *Stauros* (the Cross), the offspring of *Bythos* and *Sige*, whose office it was to enforce the principle of limitation, and keep every existence in its proper place.<sup>e</sup>

The first-begotten, *Nous*, alone was capable of comprehending the supreme Father. The other æons envied his knowledge, and in proportion to their remoteness from the source was the vehemence of their desire to fathom it. *Sophia* (Wisdom), the last of the thirty, filled with an uncontrollable eagerness, issued forth from the *pleroma*, with the intention of soaring up to the original of her being; but she was in danger of being absorbed into the infinity of his nature, or of being lost in the boundless void without, when *Horos* led her back to the sphere which she had so rashly forsaken.<sup>f</sup> *Nous* now, by the providence of *Bythos*, produced a new

<sup>c</sup> Iren. I. i. Cf. Hippol. vi. 29, 30. The sex of these beings answers to the gender of the Greek name of each. Kaye on Tertullian, 484.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. I. i.

<sup>e</sup> Ibid. ii. 2-4; iii. 5; Hippol. vi. 31. For this genealogy the Valentinians claimed the authority of St. Paul's words, *εἰς πάσας τὰς γενεὰς τοῦ αἰῶνος τῶν αἰώνων* (Eph. iii. 21); and

wherever the word *αἰών* occurred in Scripture, or in the Liturgy, they referred it to the æons of their own system. Iren. I. iii. x.

<sup>f</sup> Iren. I. ii. x, 2; Mosh. 379; Mat-  
ter, ii. 68. I have given in the text  
both the interpretations which have  
been proposed for ἀναλεῖσθαι εἰς  
τὴν ὄλην οὐσίαν. The first is the  
more probable. See Harvey in loc.



pair of æons—Christ and the Holy Spirit.<sup>g</sup> Christ taught the elder æons that Bythos was incomprehensible—that they could only know him through the Only-begotten, and that the happiness of every being was to rest content with such measure of light as had been allotted to it; the Spirit established equality among them, and taught them to unite in glorifying the Supreme. Harmony was restored, and all the æons combined to produce *Jesus* (or Saviour), the flower of the pleroma, endowed by each with the most precious gift which he could contribute. With him were also produced a host of attendant angels.<sup>h</sup>

But while Sophia was on her flight beyond the pleroma, her longings had, without the co-operation of her partner *Theletos* (Will), given birth to an abortive, shapeless, and imperfect being called by the name of *Achamoth*.<sup>i</sup> This being remained shut out from the pleroma, and in utter darkness; when Christ, taking pity on her, bestowed on her a form, and showed her a momentary glimpse of the celestial brightness.<sup>k</sup> Achamoth endeavoured to approach the light, but was repelled by Horos.<sup>l</sup> On this she was seized with violent agitations; sometimes she smiled at the remembrance of the glorious vision; sometimes she wept at her exclusion. Her emotions acted on the inert and formless mass of matter;<sup>m</sup> from her turning towards the source of light

<sup>g</sup> Iren. I. ii. 5. These are generally described as a pair. See Matter, ii. 70. But Mosheim (p. 374) supposes them to have been single and independent, like Horos.

<sup>h</sup> Iren. I. ii. 5, 6; Tertull. adv. Valent. 12; Hippol. vi. 32. Irenæus compares the account of the Valentinian Jesus to the heathen fable of Pandora. II. xiv. 5.

<sup>i</sup> I.e. Wisdom, from חֵכֶם חֵכֶם חֵכֶם. The name was borrowed from the Cabala.

Achamoth is also called *ἐνθύμησις*, and is distinguished from her mother as the *nether* wisdom (*ἡ κάτω σοφία*). Giesel. I. i. 188; Matter, ii. 72.

<sup>k</sup> Mosh. 380; Iren. I. ii. 3; Tertull. adv. Valent. 13.

<sup>l</sup> Tertull. 14.

<sup>m</sup> Mosh. 381-2; Matter, ii. 74. Matter is in this system represented not as actively evil, but as inert and negative—*κένωμα* (*void*), as opposed to *πλήρωμα* (*fulness*). Matter, ii. 84-6.

was produced psychic<sup>a</sup> existence; from her grief at being left in darkness and vacuity, from her fear lest life should be withdrawn from her, as the light had been, was produced material existence. Among the material productions were Satan and his angels; among the psychic was the Demiurge. Achamoth turns in supplication to the Christ, who sends down to her the æon Jesus, attended by his angels, and equipped with the power of the whole pleroma. Jesus enlightens her and calms her agitation; from the brightness of his angels she conceives, and gives birth to pneumatic or spiritual existence.<sup>o</sup> The Demiurge sets to work on the surrounding chaos, separates the psychic from the material elements, and out of the former builds seven heavens, of which the highest is his own sphere, while each of the others is committed to a superintendent angel. He then makes man, bestowing on him a psychic soul and body; but Achamoth, without the knowledge of the Demiurge, implants in the new creature a spark of spiritual nature; and the creator and his angels stand amazed on discovering that their workmanship has in it the element of something higher than themselves.

The Demiurge becomes jealous of man. He places him under a narrow and oppressive law; and, when man breaks this, he thrusts him down from the third heaven, or paradise, to earth, and envelopes his psychic body in a "coat of skin"—a fleshly prison, subjecting the man to the bonds of matter (for thus Valentinus explained Genesis iii. 21). All this, however, happened through the providence of the Supreme, whose design it was that, by entering into the world of matter,

<sup>a</sup> This word is usually Latinized by *animale*; but the English *animal* does not answer to it. It relates to the principle of life, and may sometimes, but

not always, be rendered *vital*.

<sup>o</sup> Iren. I. iv.; Tertull. adv. Valen. 22. Cf. Hippol. vi. 32.

the spiritual element should become the means of its destruction.<sup>p</sup>

The Demiurge knew of nothing superior to himself ; he had acted as the instrument of Bythos, but unconsciously, and, supposing himself to be the original of the universe, he instructed the Jewish prophets to proclaim him as the only God. In the writings of the prophets, accordingly, Valentinus professed to distinguish between the things which they had uttered by the inspiration of the limited Demiurge, and those which, without being themselves aware of it, they had derived from a higher source.<sup>q</sup> The Demiurge taught the prophets to promise a Messiah according to his own conceptions ; he framed this Messiah of a psychic soul with a psychic and immaterial body, capable of performing human actions, yet exempt from human feelings ; and to these elements, without the knowledge of his maker, was added a pneumatic soul from the world above. This "nether Christ" was born of the Virgin Mary—passing through her "as water through a tube," without taking anything of her substance ; he ate and drank, but derived no nourishment from his earthly food.<sup>r</sup> For thirty years—a period which had reference to the number of inhabitants in the *pleroma* <sup>s</sup>—he lived as a pattern of ascetic righteousness, until at his baptism the æon Jesus descended on him, with the design of fulfilling the most exalted meaning of prophecy, which the Demiurge had not understood ; and then the Demiurge became aware of the higher spiritual world,<sup>t</sup> and gladly yielded

<sup>p</sup> Cassian. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 14 ; Exc. ex Theodoto, 55, ap. Clem. Alex. t. ii. p. 982 ; Neand. ii. 82-3 ; Matter, ii. 81 ; Rossell, in Bunsen's Hippolytus, i. 152. Irenæus seems to suppose that man's body was represented as *originally* material. I. v.

<sup>q</sup> Iren. I. v. 4 ; vii. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Iren. I. vi. 1 ; Valent. ap. Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 7, p. 538. Hippolytus says that while the Valentinians of Italy supposed Christ's body to be psychic, those of the east believed it to be pneumatic. vi. 36.

<sup>s</sup> Iren. I. i. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Matter, ii. 87-90 ; Neand. ii. 88.

himself as an instrument for the advancement of the Messiah's kingdom.<sup>u</sup>

Valentinus divided men into three classes, represented by Cain, Abel, and Seth respectively—the material, who could not attain to knowledge, or be saved; the spiritual, who could not be lost; and the psychic, who might be saved or lost, according to their works.<sup>x</sup> Heathenism was said to be material, Judaism and the Christianity of the church to be psychic, and Gnosticism to be spiritual; <sup>y</sup> but it was not denied that individuals might be either above or below the level of the systems which they professed. Among the Jews, in particular, Valentinus held that there had always been a class of lofty spiritual natures, which rose above the limits of the old dispensation. The Demiurge had discerned the superior virtue of these, and had rewarded them by making them prophets and kings, while he ignorantly imagined that their goodness was derived from himself.<sup>z</sup>

The pure truth was for the first time revealed to mankind by the coming of Christ. To the spiritual his mission was for the purpose of enlightenment; their nature is akin to the pleroma, and they are to enter into it through knowledge, which unites them with Christ. But for the psychic a different redemption was necessary; and this was wrought out by the suffering of the psychic Messiah, who before his crucifixion was abandoned, not only by the æon Jesus, but by his own spiritual soul.<sup>a</sup> Valentinus, therefore, differed from Basilides and others by allowing a kind of atonement; but his doctrine on this point was very unlike that of the church, inasmuch as he

<sup>u</sup> Iren. I. vii. 2-4.

<sup>x</sup> Iren. I. vi. 1; vii. 5; *Excerpta ex Theodoto*, 54; *Epiph.* xxxi. 7.

<sup>y</sup> Iren. I. vi. 2-4.

<sup>z</sup> *Ib.* vii. 2; *Mosh.* 387; *Neand.* ii. 85; *Matter*, ii. 83-6.

<sup>a</sup> Iren. I. vii. 2; *Mosh.* 386; *Matter* ii. 83.

did not truly acknowledge either the divinity [or the humanity of the Saviour.<sup>b</sup>

Christ, it was held, enters into connexion with all natures, in order that each may rise to a bliss suitable to its capacity. At baptism the psychic class obtain the forgiveness of their sins, with knowledge and power to master the material elements which cleave to them ; while the spiritual are set free from the dominion of the Demiurge, are incorporated into the *pleroma*, and each enters into fellowship with a corresponding angelic being in the world above.<sup>c</sup> The courses of the two classes were to be throughout distinct. For the psychics, faith was necessary, and, in order to produce it, miracles were requisite ; but the spiritual were above the need of such assistances : they were to be saved, not by faith but by knowledge—a doctrine which among the later Valentinians became the warrant for all manner of licentiousness.<sup>d</sup> The literal sense of Scripture was for the psychics, who were unable to penetrate beyond it ; but the spiritual were admitted to the understanding of a higher meaning—"the wisdom of the perfect."<sup>e</sup>

At the final consummation, when the spiritual shall all have been perfected in knowledge—when all the seeds of divine life among mankind shall have been delivered from the bondage of matter—Achamoth, whose place is now in a middle region, between the *pleroma* and the highest heaven of the Demiurge,<sup>f</sup> will enter into the *pleroma*, and be united with the heavenly bridegroom Jesus. The matured spiritual natures, shaking off all that is lower, and restoring their psychic souls to the Demiurge who gave them, will follow into the *pleroma*—each to be

<sup>b</sup> Matter, ii. 92 ; Neand. ii. 86-7.

<sup>c</sup> Heracleon, ap. Origen. in Joann. t. xiii. 11 ; Tillem. ii. 261 ; Neand. ii. 92.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. I. vi. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Tillem. ii. 261 ; Neand. ii. 93-4 ; Matter, ii. 83 ; Giesel. I. i. 188.

<sup>f</sup> Iren. I. v. 4.

united with its angelic partner. The Demiurge will rise from his own heaven to the middle region, where he will reign over the psychic righteous. Then the fire which is now latent in the frame of the world will burst forth, and will annihilate all that is material.<sup>g</sup>

The Valentinian system was plausible in the eyes of Christians, inasmuch as it not only used a language which was in great part scriptural, but professed to receive all the books of Scripture, while it was able to set their meaning aside by the most violent misinterpretations.<sup>h</sup> The Gospel of St. John was regarded by the sect as the highest in authority; but the key to the true doctrine was said to be derived by secret tradition from St. Matthias, and from one Theodas, who was described as a disciple of St. Paul.<sup>i</sup> The initiation into the mysteries of the sect was gradual; Irenæus tells us that they were disclosed to such persons only as would pay largely, and Tertullian describes with sarcastic humour the manner in which the sectaries baffled the curiosity of any who attempted to penetrate beyond the degree of knowledge with which it was considered that they might safely be entrusted.<sup>k</sup> After the death of their founder the Valentinians underwent the usual processes of division and corruption; Epiphanius states that there were as many as ten varieties of them.<sup>l</sup> A remnant of the sect survived in the beginning of the fifth century.<sup>m</sup>

## VII. While the system of Valentinus was the most

<sup>g</sup> Ib. I. vii. 1-5; Exc. ex Theod. 65; Tertull. adv. Valent. 32; Ncand. ii. 90-5.

<sup>h</sup> Iren. I. iii. 2. "Neque enim si Valentinus integro instrumento uti videtur, non callidiore ingenio, quam Marcion, manus intulit veritati. Marcion enim exerte et palam machæra, non stylo, usus est; quoniam ad materiam suam cædem scripturarum con-

fecit. Valentinus autem pepercit; quia non ad materiam scripturas, sed materiam ad scripturas, excogitavit." Tertull. de Præscr. 38.

<sup>i</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 17, pp. 898, 900; Matter, ii. 46, 98.

<sup>k</sup> Iren. I. iv. 2; Tert. adv. Valent. 1.

<sup>l</sup> Iren. I. xi. ; Tertull. 4, 33, seqq.; Epiph. xxxi. 1.

<sup>m</sup> Matter, ii. 126.



imaginative form of Gnosticism, that of his contemporary Marcion was the most prosaic and practical; and whereas in the other systems knowledge was all in all, the tendency of Marcionism was mainly religious.<sup>n</sup> The chief principle which its author had in common with other Gnostics was the idea of an opposition between Christianity and Judaism; and this he carried to an extreme.<sup>o</sup>

Marcion was born at Sinope,<sup>p</sup> on the Euxine, about the beginning of the second century. His father was eventually bishop of that city; and there is no apparent reason for doubting that Marcion himself was trained as a Christian from infancy.<sup>q</sup> He rose to be a presbyter in the church of Sinope, and professed an ascetic life until (according to a very doubtful story, which rests on the authority of Epiphanius) he was excommunicated by his father for the seduction of a virgin.<sup>r</sup> After having sought

<sup>n</sup> Dorner, i. 354.

<sup>o</sup> Neander, ii. 130.

<sup>p</sup> Tertullian, in attacking him, does not forget another celebrated native of Sinope: "Illa canicula Diogenes hominem invenire cupiebat, lucernam meridie circumferens: Marcion Deum quem invenerat, extincto lumine fidei suæ amisit." Adv. Marc. i. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Tert. adv. Marc. i. 1. Matter (ii. 226) however suggests that possibly the father's conversion may have been later. Tertullian styles Marcion *naucclerus*, and often uses nautical and mercantile figures in speaking of him (e.g. v. 1). This may mean that in early years the heresiarch had led a seafaring life; but it is more likely only an allusion to his Pontic birth. See Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 54; Tillem. ii. 277; Beausobre, ii. 70; Kaye on Tertullian, 450.

<sup>r</sup> Epiph. xlii. 1. The silence of Irenæus and other early writers—especially that of so fierce an adversary as Tertullian (for c. 51 of 'De Præscr. Hæret.', in which the story is told, is

part of a spurious addition to the treatise)—is a strong negative disproof of this. (See Beausobre, ii. 77; Evans, i. 97; Neand. ii. 136; Bunsen, i. 163); but M. Matter believes it (ii. 226). Mosheim (402-3), following a hint of Beausobre (ii. 82), supposes Epiphanius to have misunderstood some figurative account in which Marcion's heresy was described as a defilement of the church's virgin purity; and this is countenanced by such language as that of Tertullian against heretics in general—"Quid ergo dicent, qui illam stupraverint adulterio hæretico virginem traditam a Christo?" (De Præscr. 44.) Marcion is a favourite with Neander, and still more so with Baron Bunsen, who decrees (without any apparent ground) that he is the author of the 'Epistle to Diognetus,' an anonymous piece, ascribed by some to Justin Martyr. (Analecta Antenicæna, i. 103.) Against both these suppositions as to the authorship, see Donaldson, ii. 138, seqq.



in vain to be restored, he left Asia, and arrived at Rome while the see was vacant through the death of Hyginus. He applied for admission into the communion of the Roman church, but was told by the presbyters that the principle of unity in faith and discipline forbade it unless with the consent of the bishop by whom he had been excommunicated.<sup>s</sup> Before leaving his own country Marcion had become notorious for peculiar opinions, which indeed were probably the real cause of his excommunication ; and he began to vent these at Rome by asking the presbyters to explain our Lord's declaration that old bottles are unfit to receive new wine. He disputed the correctness of their answer ; and, although his own interpretation of the words is not reported, it would seem, from what is known of his doctrines, that he supposed the "old bottles" to mean the Law, and the "new wine" to be the Gospel.<sup>t</sup>

Having failed in his attempts to gain readmittance into the church, Marcion attached himself to Cerdon, a Syrian, who had for some years sojourned at Rome, alternately making proselytes in secret, and seeking reconciliation with the church by a profession of penitence.<sup>u</sup> The fame of the master was soon lost in that of the disciple, so that it is impossible to distinguish their respective shares in the formation of their system.<sup>x</sup> Marcion is said to have travelled in Egypt and the East for the purpose of spreading his heresy, and is supposed to have died at Rome in the episcopate of Eleutherius<sup>y</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Epiph. xlii. 2. Comp. Canon. Apost. 32. Beausobre (ii. 76) notices the inconsistency of this with later Roman claims. See too Nat. Alex. v. 89, seqq.

<sup>t</sup> Epiph. i. c. ; Mosh. 403 ; Neand. ii. 136-7 ; Matter, ii. 232. Compare the Manichæan Faustus, in Augustin. c. Faust. i. xv.

<sup>u</sup> Iren. I. xxvii. 1 ; III. iv. 3 ; Epiph. xli.

<sup>x</sup> Neand. ii. 138 ; Matter, ii. 22.

<sup>y</sup> See Tillem. ii. 278. Mr. Clinton infers from Clem. Alex. Strom. iv. p. 500 B, that he was alive at the date of that work, A.D. 194.

(*i.e.* between 177 and 190). Tertullian states that he had been repeatedly excluded from the church; that on the last occasion the bishop of Rome restored to him a large sum of money which he had offered "in the first ardour of his faith";<sup>a</sup> that he obtained a promise of being once more received into communion, on condition of bringing back those whom he had perverted; but that death overtook him before he could fulfil the task.<sup>a</sup>

Unlike the other Gnostics, Marcion professed to be purely Christian in his doctrines; he borrowed nothing from Greece, Egypt, or Persia, and acknowledged no other source of truth but the Holy Scriptures.<sup>b</sup> He was an enemy to allegorical interpretation; while he rejected the tradition of the church, he did not pretend to have any secret tradition of his own; and he denied the opposition between faith and knowledge.<sup>c</sup> But with Scripture itself he dealt very violently. He rejected the whole Old Testament; of the New, he acknowledged only the Gospel of St. Luke and ten of St. Paul's Epistles, and from these he expunged all that disagreed with his own theories.<sup>d</sup> He did not question the authorship of the other books, but supposed that the writers were themselves blinded by Judaism, and, moreover, that their works had been corrupted in the course of time.<sup>e</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Adv. Marcion. iv. 4; De Præscr. Hær. 30. Neander supposes this gift to have been made in Asia, and on the occasion of Marcion's conversion (ii. 133). But the scene is commonly laid at Rome; and we have seen that he was most likely brought up as a Christian.

<sup>a</sup> Neander (ii. 139), and Baron Bunsen (i. 169), who are unwilling to admit anything to the discredit of Marcion, deny the truth of this altogether. Gieseler quotes a passage from the Marcionite Apelles (ap. Euseb. v. 13), which proves that the sect attached little importance to doctrines, and therefore thinks it probable that the

founder may have been led to regret his schism as hurtful to the practical interests of Christianity (I. i. 195). Tillemont supposes that the story has been transferred by mistake from Cerdon to Marcion. ii. 274, 609.

<sup>b</sup> Hippolytus, however, makes out a likeness to Empedocles. vii. 29-31.

<sup>c</sup> Matter, ii. 234; Neand. ii. 131-2.

<sup>d</sup> Iren. I. xxvii. 2; Tert. adv. Marc. iv. 2, seqq.; Matter, ii. 236, 257-260. Neand. ii. 149; Kaye on Tertullian, 469.

<sup>e</sup> Tert. adv. Marc. iv. 3; Matter, ii. 234.

Marcion held the existence of three principles—the supreme God, perfectly good; the devil, or lord of matter, eternal and evil; and between these the Demiurge, a being of limited power and knowledge, whose chief characteristic was a justice unmixed with love or mercy. It is not certain whether the Demiurge was supposed to be an independent existence, or (as in most gnostic systems) an emanation from the supreme God; but the latter opinion is the more probable.<sup>f</sup> It was taught that the creation of the Supreme was immaterial and invisible; that the Demiurge formed this world and its inhabitants out of substance which he had taken from the material chaos without the consent or knowledge of its ruler. The soul of man was not (as in other systems) supposed to be implanted by the supreme God, but to be the work of the Demiurge, and of a quality corresponding to the limited nature of its author; it had no power to withstand the attacks of the material principle, which was represented as always striving to reclaim the portion abstracted from its own domain. Man fell through disobedience to the laws of the Demiurge, and his original nature was changed for the worse.<sup>g</sup> The Demiurge chose for himself one nation—the Jews; to these he gave a law which was not in itself evil, but was fitted only for lower natures, being imperfect in its morality, and destitute of inward spirit. His system was rigorously just; the disobedient he made over to torments, while he rewarded the righteous with rest in “Abraham’s bosom.”<sup>h</sup>

The Demiurge promised a Messiah, his son, and of a nature like his own, who was to come, not for the purpose of mediation and forgiveness, but in order to destroy

<sup>f</sup> See Iren. I. xxvii. 2; Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 3, p. 515; Origen, de Princip. ii. 5; Epiph. xlii. 3; Augustin. de Hæres. 22; Neand. ii. 141; Matter, ii.

260-2; Giesel. I. i. 193.

<sup>g</sup> Tert. adv. Marc. i. 22.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. iii. 24; Mosh. 404-5; Neand. ii. 142-3.

heathenism and to establish the empire of the Jews. But the supreme God, in pity for mankind, of whom the vast majority, without any fault of their own, were excluded from all knowledge of the Demiurge, and were liable to his condemnation, resolved to send down a higher Messiah, his own son. The world had not been prepared for this by any previous revelations; for no such preparation was necessary, as the Messiah's works were of themselves sufficient evidence of his mission. He appeared suddenly in the synagogue of Capernaum, "in the fifteenth year of Tiberius Cæsar;" but in order to obtain a hearing from the Jews, he accommodated himself to their notions, and professed to be that Messiah whom the Demiurge's prophets had taught them to expect.<sup>i</sup> Then, for the first time, the true God was revealed, and forgiveness of sins was bestowed on men, with endowments of knowledge and strength which might enable them to overcome the enmity of matter.<sup>k</sup>

The Demiurge, ignorant of the Messiah's real nature, but jealous of a power superior to his own, stirred up the Jews against him; the God of matter urged on the Gentiles to join in the persecution, and the Saviour was crucified. Yet, according to Marcion's view, his body could not really suffer, inasmuch as it was spiritual and ethereal; his submission to the cross was meant to teach that the sufferings of the worthless body are not to be avoided as evils.<sup>l</sup>

Marcion admitted the Saviour's descent into hell, and with this doctrine was connected one of his strangest fancies—that the heathens, and the reprobates of the Old

<sup>i</sup> Tertull. adv. Marc. iii. 15; iv. 2, 3, 6, 7; Matter, ii. 246, 267-270.

<sup>k</sup> Mosh. 407; Neand. ii. 144-5.

<sup>l</sup> Mosh. 407-9; Neand. ii. 145-6; Matter, ii. 279. Marcion's view as to our Lord's body was peculiar. It could

not be material, since matter is evil; but neither was it, as some Gnostics held, a mere phantom; it was a real body, although invisible, and it was clothed with a phantastic outward form.

Testament (such as Cain, Esau, and the men of Sodom), suffering from the vengeance of the Demiurge, gladly hailed the offer of salvation, and were delivered; while the Old Testament saints, being satisfied with the happiness of Abraham's bosom, and suspecting the Saviour's call as a temptation, refused to listen to him, and were left as before.<sup>m</sup> This, however, was not to be their final condition. The Demiurge's Messiah was after all to come; he was to gather the dispersed of Israel out of all lands, to establish an universal empire of the Jews, and to bless the adherents of his father with an earthly happiness; while such of the heathen and of the disobedient as had not been exempted from his power by laying hold on the higher salvation were to be consigned to torments. For the people of the supreme God, it was taught that the soul will be released from the flesh, and will rise to dwell with him in a spiritual body.<sup>n</sup>

The fundamental difficulty with Marcion was the supposed impossibility of reconciling love with punitive justice; hence his distinction between the supreme God, all love, and the Demiurge, all severity. In order to carry out this view he wrote a book called *Antitheses*,<sup>o</sup> in which, with the intention of showing an essential difference between the Old and New Testament, he insisted on all such principles and narratives in the older Scriptures as appeared to be inconsistent with the character of love, and made the most of all the instances in which our Lord had (as Marcion supposed) declared himself against the Jewish system.<sup>p</sup>

Marcion is described as a man of grave disposition and

<sup>m</sup> Iren. I. xxvii. 3; Epiph. xlii. 4. This bears some likeness to the Cainite doctrine (sup. p. 55), but rests on a different ground.

<sup>n</sup> Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 28; iii. 24; Epiph. xlii. 4; Neand. ii. 147; Matter,

ii. 267, 283. Marcion denied the resurrection of the body. Tert. i. 24.

<sup>o</sup> Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 19.

<sup>p</sup> Tertullian (Books ii.-v.) and Epiphanius (xlii. 11) discuss these points at great length.

manners.<sup>q</sup> The character of his sect was ascetic; he allowed no animal food except fish; he forbade marriage, and required a profession of continence as a condition of baptism.<sup>r</sup> Baptism, however, might be deferred; the catechumens were (contrary to the practice of the church) admitted to witness the celebration of the highest mysteries;<sup>s</sup> and if a person died in the state of a catechumen, there was a vicarious baptism for the dead.<sup>t</sup> It is said that Marcion allowed baptism to be administered thrice, in the belief that at each repetition the sins committed since the preceding baptism were remitted; that he celebrated the eucharist with water; and that, as a mark of opposition to Judaism, he enjoined the observance of the seventh day of the week (or Sabbath) as a fast.<sup>u</sup>

The bold rejection of all Jewish and heathen elements, the arbitrary treatment of Holy Scripture, and the apparent severity of the sect, drew many converts.<sup>x</sup> Marcion affected to address his followers as "companions in hatred and tribulation;"<sup>y</sup> they rather courted than shunned persecution; many of them suffered with great constancy for the name of Christ, and the sect boasted of its martyrs.<sup>z</sup> Marcionism is described by Epiphanius as prevailing widely in his own time (about A.D. 400), nor did it become extinct until the sixth century.<sup>a</sup>

Strange and essentially unchristian as Gnosticism was, we must yet not overlook the benefits which Christianity eventually derived from it. Like other heresies, it did good service by engaging the champions of orthodoxy in

<sup>q</sup> Mosh. 401.

<sup>r</sup> Clem.<sup>e</sup> Alex. Strom. iii. 3, p. 515; Tertull. adv. Marc. i. 29.

<sup>s</sup> Tertull. de Præscr. 41; Epiph. xlii. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Matter, ii. 286-8. For this I Cor. xv. 29 was alleged. Chrysost. Hom.

xl. in I Cor. (p. 507, ed. Field).

<sup>u</sup> Epiph. xlii. 3. <sup>x</sup> Matter, ii. 289.

<sup>y</sup> Tertull. adv. Marc. iv. 9.

<sup>z</sup> Tillem. ii. 270. See Bayle, art *Marcionites*, note E.

<sup>a</sup> Epiph. xli. 1; Matter, ii. 314.

the investigation and defence of the doctrines which it assailed ; but this was not all. In the various forms of Gnosticism, the chief ideas and influences of earlier religions and philosophies were brought into contact with the Gospel—pressing, as it were, for entrance into the Christian system. Thus the church was forced to consider how much in those older systems was true, and how much was false ; and, while steadfastly rejecting the falsehood, to appropriate the truth, to hallow it by a combination with the Christian principle, and so to rescue all that was precious from the wreck of a world which was passing away. “It was,” says a late writer,<sup>b</sup> “through the Gnostics that studies, literature, and art were introduced into the church ;” and when Gnosticism had accomplished its task of thus influencing the church, its various forms either ceased to exist, or lingered only as the obsolete creeds of an obscure and diminishing remnant.<sup>c</sup>

## CHAPTER V.

### FROM THE ACCESSION OF COMMODUS TO THE DEATH OF ELAGABALUS.

A.D. 180-222.

ALTHOUGH the writings of the apologists had failed to obtain a legal toleration for the church, they were not without effect.<sup>a</sup> The cause which could find men of ability and learning to advocate it with their pens, took by degrees a new position. The old vulgar calumnies

<sup>b</sup> Baumgarten-Crusius, ‘Dogmen-geschichte,’ quoted by Dorner, i. 357.

<sup>c</sup> Dorner, i. 356-7 ; Neand. ii. 157

<sup>a</sup> Tzschirner, 351.



died away : the more enlightened of the heathen began to feel that, if their religion were to withstand the Gospel, it must be reformed, not only in practice, but in doctrine. Hence we find in this period attempts, on the part of the philosophers, to claim for their own system some truths to which Christianity had first given prominence, approximations to the Gospel in various ways, and endeavours after a combination of doctrines.

Of the princes who occupied the imperial throne, some reigned but a short time, and have left no traces in the history of the church. Commodus, the unworthy son of Marcus Aurelius, is said to have been influenced by his favourite concubine, Marcia, to spare the Christians, and to recall many of them from banishment.<sup>b</sup> But although this reign was generally a time of repose for the church, it produced one remarkable martyrdom—that of Apollonius, a Roman senator who was accused of being a Christian by one of his slaves. The informer was put to death by having his legs broken; Apollonius, after having read a defence of his faith before the senate, was beheaded;<sup>c</sup> and the case is celebrated as illustrating the supposed condition of the Christians—legally liable to the punishment of death for their belief, yet protected by a law which appointed the same penalty for their accusers. It labours, however, under several difficulties : even if the circumstances be admitted as true, there remains a question whether the informer was punished for molesting a Christian, or for violating the duty of slave to master.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>b</sup> *Θελήσασα ἡ Μαρκία ἔργον τε ἀγαθὸν ἐργάσασθαι, οἷσα φιλόθεος παλλακὴ Κομμοδου.* Hippol. adv. Hæreses, b. ix. p. 454. Cf. Tillem. Emp. ii. 481. See the epitaph of Prosenes, a Christian of the imperial household, in De Rossi, i. 9-12.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. v. 21 (who, however, does not state that the accuser was the slave of Apollonius, although his words have been so misunderstood); Hieron. de Viris Illustr. 42.

<sup>d</sup> See Neand. i. 163; Giesel I. i. 176.

Severus, in the beginning of his reign, favoured the church, and shielded its members against the fury of the populace—in consequence, it is said, of a cure which he himself had experienced from having been anointed with oil by a Christian named Proculus Torpacion :<sup>e</sup> he kept his deliverer near him, and allowed some persons of rank and authority to profess the Gospel.<sup>f</sup> But the laws were still in an unsatisfactory state ; the treatment of the Christians still depended on the will of individual governors, and even those governors who were favourably disposed found it impossible to protect them when accused.<sup>g</sup> Before any new edict had appeared, severe persecutions were carried on in various parts of the empire. The rescript of Trajan, which forbade inquiry to be made after the Christians, was neglected ; the mob still called for their blood in the amphitheatres ; many were tortured to make them avow their faith ; some were burnt ; some condemned to the mines or to banishment ; even the graves of the dead were violated.<sup>h</sup> In these times a custom of purchasing toleration arose. It was sanctioned by many bishops, who alleged the scriptural example of Jason ;<sup>i</sup> and the money was paid, not only by way of occasional bribes to accusers or soldiers, but as a rent or tax, like that levied on the followers of some disreputable callings for license to carry on their business.<sup>k</sup> The effect was, on the whole, unfavourable

<sup>e</sup> Tertull. ad Scapulam, 4. Some have supposed that Severus was the governor under whom, in the reign of Marcus Aurelius, the martyrdoms of Lyons took place ; but there is no good ground for this.

<sup>f</sup> "Sed et clarissimas fœminas et clarissimos viros Severus sciens hujus sectæ esse non modo non læsit, verum et populo in nos furenti palam restitit." (Tert. l. c.) His son Caracalla is said to have been "brought up on Christian milk" (ib.), which probably means

that he had a Christian nurse. Tillem. Emp. iii. 108.

<sup>g</sup> Mosh. 254.

<sup>h</sup> Tertull. Apol. 12, 30 ; Baron. 201. 30-3 ; Mosh. 254. The Christians may also have suffered under the law against clubs (see above, p. 16), which was renewed by Severus. Ulpian, in Digest. I. xii. 14 ; Neand. i. 166.

<sup>i</sup> Acts xvii. 9 ; Baron. 205. 17.

<sup>k</sup> Tertull. de Fugâ in Persecutione, 13.

to the quiet of the church, as unscrupulous governors soon learnt the expedient of putting to death a few of the poorer Christians within their jurisdictions, by way of alarming the richer brethren and extorting money from them.<sup>l</sup> The severe Marcionites and the enthusiastic Montanists disdained the compromise to which believers in general submitted; they classed together the practice of paying for safety, and that of flight in persecution, as alike unworthy of their profession.<sup>m</sup>

In the year 202, Severus issued an edict, forbidding, under heavy penalties, that any of his subjects should embrace Judaism or Christianity.<sup>n</sup> Perhaps the extravagances of Montanism may have contributed to provoke this edict,<sup>o</sup> as well as the cause which is more commonly assigned for it—the refusal of the Christians to share in the rejoicings which welcomed the emperor's triumphant return to Rome.<sup>p</sup> That refusal was really grounded, not on any political disaffection, but on a religious objection to the heathen rites and indecencies which were mixed with such celebrations;<sup>q</sup> for, whatever might have been the private feelings of Christians during the late contest for the empire, they had abstained from taking part with any of the competitors, nor is it recorded that there were any Christians among those adherents of Niger and Albinus who suffered from the vengeance of Severus.<sup>r</sup>

Although the new edict did not expressly forbid Christians to exercise their religion, but only to increase their numbers by proselytism,<sup>s</sup> it had the effect of

<sup>l</sup> Mosh. 453.

<sup>m</sup> Baron. 205. 19; Kaye on Tertullian, 140. "Sicut fuga redemptio gratuita est," says Tertullian (*De Fugâ*, c. 12), "ita redemptio nummaria fuga est."

<sup>n</sup> Spartian. Vit. Sev. 17.

<sup>o</sup> As is suggested by Gieseler, I. i. 257.

<sup>p</sup> Baron. 200. 4; Tillem. iii. 118.

<sup>q</sup> Tertull. Apol. 35.

<sup>r</sup> Ibid.; Neander's *Antignosticus*, 53-4; Milman, ii. 206.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 455. Neander points out (I

stimulating their enemies to persecution, which was carried on with great severity in Egypt and pro-consular Africa, although it does not appear to have extended to other provinces.<sup>t</sup>

Of the African martyrs, the most celebrated are Perpetua and her companions, whose sufferings are related in a narrative partly written by Perpetua herself.<sup>u</sup> She was a catechumen, noble and wealthy, of the age of twenty-two, married or lately left a widow,<sup>x</sup> and with an infant at her breast. After her arrest she was visited by her father, a heathen, who urged her to disavow her faith. She asked him whether a vessel which stood near could be called by any other than its proper name ; and on his answering that it could not, "Neither," said she, "can I call myself other than what I am—a Christian." The father was violently enraged, and it seemed as if he would have done her some bodily harm ; he departed, however, and did not return for some days.

During the interval Perpetua was baptized, with her companions Revocatus, Felicitas, Saturninus, and Secundulus ; the Spirit, she says, moved her to pray at her baptism for the power of endurance. They were then removed to a place of stricter confinement than that to which they had at first been committed ; and Perpetua suffered from the heat, the darkness, the crowd, and the insults of the soldiers, but most of all from anxiety for

167) that in the operation of the edict a great difference may have been made between Jews—professors of an ancient national religion—and Christians, who might all have been considered as proselytes. But without some proof that it actually was so, we may hesitate to admit the distinction. It must have been known that in very many cases Christianity was, although not a national or legalized, yet an inherited religion: and, as it had existed at

Rome in the days of Nero, it could no longer be regarded as a novelty in the year 202.

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. vi. 1, 4, 5 ; Neand. i. 167 ; Milman, ii. 208.

<sup>u</sup> Printed in the third volume of Migne's *Latin Patrologia*. The date is variously fixed from 203 to 206. Tillem. iii. 138.

<sup>x</sup> As her husband does not appear in the story, it is conjectured that he may have been dead. Ibid. 139.

her infant. Two deacons, by giving money to the gaolers, procured leave for the Christians to spend some hours of each day in a more open part of the prison. There Perpetua's child was brought to her by her mother and brother, and after a time she was able to keep him wholly with her; whereupon she felt herself relieved from all uneasiness, so that, she says, "the prison all at once became like a palace to me, and I would rather have been there than anywhere else."

Her brother, a catechumen, now told her that she might venture to pray for a vision, in the hope of ascertaining how the imprisonment was to end.<sup>y</sup> She prayed accordingly, and saw a ladder of gold, reaching up to heaven, and so narrow that only one person at a time could ascend its steps. Around it were swords, lances, and hooks, ready to pierce and tear the flesh of such as should attempt to climb without due caution; while a great dragon lay at the foot, endeavouring to deter from the ascent. Saturus—an eminent Christian, who afterwards surrendered himself, and became the companion of the sufferers—was seen as the first to go up the ladder, and, on reaching the top, invited Perpetua to follow. By the name of Christ she quelled the dragon, and when she had put her foot on the first step of the ladder, she trod on the monster's head. Above, she found herself in a spacious garden, where she saw a shepherd, with white hair, milking his ewes, with thousands of forms in white garments around him. He welcomed her, and gave her a morsel of cheese, which she received with joined hands and ate, while the white-robed company said Amen. At this sound she awoke, but a sweet taste still remained in her mouth. The

<sup>y</sup> "This," says Dean Milman, "is the language of Montanism; but the vision is exactly that which might haunt the slumbers of the Christian in a high

state of religious enthusiasm; it showed merely the familiar images of the faith, arranging themselves into form." ii

vision was interpreted as a warning that the prisoners must no longer have hope in this world.

Hearing that they were about to be examined, Perpetua's father again visited her. Instead of *daughter* he called her *lady*; <sup>2</sup> he kissed her hands, threw himself at her feet, and implored her—by the remembrance of his long care for her, and of the preference which he had shown her above his other children, by the grief of her family, by pity for her child, who could not live without her—to spare him and all her kindred the sorrow and shame which would follow from her persisting in her profession. But Perpetua, although she was deeply affected by the old man's agitation, could only reply that all was in God's hands.

On the day of trial, the prisoners were conveyed to the forum,<sup>a</sup> and, as Perpetua was brought forward, her father appeared immediately below her, with her infant in his arms, beseeching her to have compassion on the child. The procurator endeavoured to move her by consideration for her offspring, and for her parent's grey hairs; but she steadfastly refused to sacrifice. The procurator then ordered her father (who probably disturbed the proceedings by his importunities) to be dislodged from the place where he stood and to be beaten with rods; and while this order was carried into effect, Perpetua declared that she felt the blows as if they had been inflicted on herself. The trial ended in the condemnation of the accused to the beasts, but, undaunted by the sentence, they returned to their prison rejoicing.

A few days later, as Perpetua was praying, she found herself naming her brother Dinocrates, who had died at the age of seven; and as she had not thought of him, she

<sup>2</sup> "Dominam." Acta, 2.

<sup>a</sup> It is a question whether the scene was Carthage or Tuburbium.



felt this as a Divine intimation that she should pray for him. The boy appeared as if coming forth from a dark place,—pale, dirty, showing in his face the cancer which had caused his death, thirsty, but unable to reach some water which he wished to drink. His sister persevered in prayer for him, and at length was comforted by a vision in which the place around him was light, his person and flesh clean, the sore in his face healed into a scar, and the water within his reach. He drank and went away as if to play; “then,” says Perpetua, “I understood that he was translated from punishment.”<sup>b</sup>

The narrative goes on to relate another visit of the agonized father, and visions of triumph by which Perpetua was animated for the endurance of her sufferings. Saturus also had a vision of the heavenly glory, moulded on the representations of the Apocalypse; and this was made the means of conveying some admonitions to the bishop, Optatus.

The martyrs were kept for the birthday of Geta, who had been associated by his father as a colleague in the empire, and in the mean time Secundulus died in prison. Felicitas, a married woman of servile condition, was in the eighth month of her pregnancy, and both she and her companions feared that her death might be deferred on this account. They therefore joined in prayer; and

<sup>b</sup> “This,” says Dean Milman, “is evidently a kind of purgatory” (ii. 221); and the passage is used in argument by Romish controversialists. Some in early times, assuming that Dinocrates was unbaptized, inferred that persons so dying might be benefited by the prayers of the survivors. St. Augustine answers (1), That the Acts of Perpetua are not canonical; (2), that since they do not describe Dinocrates as unbaptized, he probably had been baptized, and his sufferings

were on account of apostasy committed at his father’s instance, or of other sins subsequent to baptism. Augustine seems to place little reliance on the authority of the Acts, although Ruinart, in reporting him, mentions only the second plea—which, from the father’s heathenism, and from Perpetua’s having been only a catechumen at the time of her arrest, seems very improbable. Aug. de Animâ, i. 10; iii. 9; Ruin. in Patrol. iii. 38.



three days before the festival Felicitas gave birth to a child. The cries which she uttered in the pangs of travail induced an attendant of the prison to ask her, "If you cannot bear this, what will you do when exposed to the beasts?" "It is I," she answered, "that bear my present sufferings; but then there will be One within me to suffer for me, because I too shall suffer for him." The child was adopted by a Christian woman.

The gaoler, Pudens, was converted by the behaviour of his prisoners. On the eve of their suffering they were regaled according to custom with the "free supper"—a meal at which condemned persons were allowed to behave with all manner of license;<sup>c</sup> but, instead of indulging in the usual disorders, they converted it into the likeness of a Christian love-feast. Saturus sternly rebuked the people who pressed to look at them: "Mark our faces well," he said, "that you may know us again in the day of judgment."

When led forth into the amphitheatre, the martyrs wore a joyful look. According to a custom which seems to have been peculiar to Carthage, and derived from the times when human sacrifices were offered under its old Phœnician religion,<sup>d</sup> the men were required to put on scarlet dresses, like the priests of Saturn, and the women yellow, like the priestesses of Ceres; but they refused to submit, saying that they suffered in order to be exempt from such compliances, and the justice of the objection was admitted. Perpetua sang psalms; Saturus and others denounced God's vengeance on the procurator and the crowd.

The male victims were exposed to lions, bears, and leopards; the women were tossed by a furious cow. Perpetua appeared as if in a trance, insensible to the pain; on recovering her consciousness, she asked when

<sup>c</sup> Tillm. iii. 153-4.

<sup>d</sup> Neand. i. 172.

the beasts would come, and could hardly be convinced that that part of her sufferings was over. Instead of allowing the victims to be privately despatched, as was usual, the spectators demanded that they should be led forth to death; they bade farewell to each other with the kiss of peace, and walked into the midst of the amphitheatre, where their earthly trials were soon ended. The gladiator who was to kill Perpetua was an inexperienced youth, and misdirected his sword, on which, observing his agitation, she with her own hand guided it to a mortal part. "Perhaps," says the writer of the Acts of the Martyrdom, "so great a woman—one who was feared by the unclean spirit—could not have been put to death except by her own will."

The document which has been here abridged bears throughout the stamp of circumstantial truth. Grounds have been found, both in the incidents and in the tone of the narrative, for an opinion that the martyrs and their historian were Montanists; while the reception of the Acts by the ancient church tells strongly on the other side. We may therefore either suppose that the Montanistic opinions had not produced a formal rupture in the church of Carthage at the time when the Acts were written;<sup>e</sup> or we may refer the peculiarities of the story, not to Montanistic principles, but to that natural temperament which rendered Africa a soil especially favourable for the reception of Montanism.<sup>f</sup>

Under Caracalla and Elagabalus, the Christians were exempt from persecution. It is said that Elagabalus, in his desire to make all the old national religions subser-

<sup>e</sup> This is the solution offered by Gieseler, who considers the Montanism unquestionable. 1. i. 290.

<sup>f</sup> See on the question Tillem. iii. 138; Ruinart, in Patrol. iii. 13; Schröckh, iii. 316; Milman, ii. 216.

The Roman writers are concerned to maintain the catholicity of Perpetua and Felicitas because they are commemorated in the canon of the 11755.

vient to the Syrian worship of which he had been priest,<sup>g</sup> intended to combine the symbols of Judaism and Christianity (which he probably regarded the more favourably on account of their eastern origin) with the gods of Greece and Rome, in the temple which he erected to the sun;<sup>h</sup> but his career of insane depravity was cut short before he could attempt to carry out this design.

The first subject to be noticed in the internal history of the church is a violent dispute which arose from a revival of the paschal question. The difference of observance as to the time of Easter between the churches of Asia Minor and those of other countries has already been mentioned, as also the compromise which was agreed on between Polycarp, as representative of the Asiatics, and Anicetus, bishop of Rome.<sup>i</sup> It would seem that, for some time after that agreement, Asiatics sojourning at Rome were allowed to follow the usage of their own country, until Soter, who held the see from 168 to 176, required them to conform to the local custom, but without considering quartodecimanism as a bar to communion with other churches.<sup>k</sup> His second successor, Victor, adopted a different policy.<sup>l</sup> One Blastus, an Asiatic, who had repaired to Rome, insisted on the observance of the quartodeciman practice; and about the same time it became suspicious as a token of Montanism, with which, indeed, Blastus appears to have been infected.<sup>m</sup> These circumstances might very reasonably

<sup>g</sup> See Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 401.

<sup>h</sup> Lampridius, *Vita Heliogab.* 3, 6; Gibbon, i. 153-4; Pressensé, iii. 244.

<sup>i</sup> p. 41.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. iii. 103. Neander, however, (i. 414), says that he has given up his former inference from the letter of Irenæus to Victor (Euseb. v. 24), that

Soter made a change even to this extent.

<sup>l</sup> The controversy is dated from 196 to 198. Tillem. iii. 104; Giesel. I. i. 293; Burton, ii. 215; Clinton, A.D. 197.

<sup>m</sup> The Asiatic Montanists were quartodecimans, although it does not appear that the sect observed the same prac-

have induced Victor to use his influence for the establishment of uniformity throughout the whole church; but he erred grievously in the manner of his attempt. Councils were held, apparently by his desire, in countries widely distant from each other—in Palestine, P<sup>o</sup>ntus, Osrhoëne, Greece, and Gaul: all these gave evidence that the custom of their own churches agreed with that of the Roman, and were favourable to the wishes of Victor.<sup>n</sup> The Asiatics, however, in their council, refused to depart from their traditional rule. Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, a man of eminent place and high personal authority,<sup>o</sup> wrote to Victor in behalf of his brethren: he refers to the apostles St. Philip and St. John, with other venerable personages who had adorned the church of Asia, as having sanctioned the quartodeciman usage; and he declares himself resolved to abide by it, as being apostolical in its origin, and nowhere condemned in Scripture, without fearing Victor's threats of breaking off communion with him.<sup>p</sup> Victor then, in an imperious letter, cut off the Asiatics from the communion of Rome; and he endeavoured to procure a like condemnation of them from the other branches of the church. In this, however, he was disappointed. The idea of excluding so large a body from Christian communion shocked the general feeling; many bishops sharply remonstrated with Victor, and exhorted him to desist.<sup>q</sup>

Of those who attempted to mediate in the dispute, the most prominent was Irenæus, bishop of Lyons. Irenæus was a native of Asia Minor, and in his youth had known

tice elsewhere. (Baron. 198. 15-16; Giesel. I. i. 292.) Bp. Hefele supposes Victor to have objected to it as a mark of Ebionism. i. 301

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. v. 23.

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. iii. 107.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. v. 24.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. v. 24. Valois (not. in loc.)

and others infer from the words of Eusebius, ἀποτέμνεν πειράται, that Victor only meditated an excommunication. But Eusebius says that Victor in his letters denounced the Asiatics as ἀκουωνήτους ἄρδην, and πειράται seems to mean his attempts to influence other churches

the revered St. Polycarp,<sup>r</sup> of whom in one of his writings<sup>s</sup> he has preserved some interesting recollections. Having joined the missionary church of Lyons, he was chosen by the martyrs under Marcus Aurelius to be the bearer of a letter to the bishop of Rome, in which they endeavoured to allay the heats of the Montanistic controversy; and it appears that during his absence he was elected bishop in the room of Pothinus.<sup>t</sup> During the early years of his episcopate, his reputation for learning and ability had been established by the great work which is our chief source of information as to the gnostic heresies; and, connected as he was with both the east and the west,—a quartodeciman by early association, but a follower of the Roman usage in his own church<sup>u</sup>—he was well qualified to exert himself with effect in the character of a peace-maker.<sup>v</sup> The bishop of Lyons wrote in the name of his church, exhorting Victor to moderation, referring to the example of Anicetus and his predecessors in the see of Rome, and urging that such a question ought not to be made a ground for a breach of communion, inasmuch as a diversity of usages had always been allowed, and such variations in indifferent things served to confirm the argument which might be drawn from the agreement of all churches as to the essentials of the faith.<sup>w</sup>

Through the mediation of Irenæus and others, peace

Iren. III. iii. 4. Mr. Harvey, however, supposes Irenæus a Syrian. *Introd. to Iren. cliv.*

<sup>s</sup> The epistle to Florinus, of which a fragment is preserved by Eusebius. *v. 20.*

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. v. 3-4; Beaven on Irenæus, 11-15; Harvey, *clvii.*

<sup>u</sup> This has been regarded as a proof that the Gospel was planted in the south of France before the arrival of Pothinus from Asia. (Burton, ii. 217.)

Yet it is possible that Asiatic missionaries, on settling in a western country, may have adopted the common practice of the west, although they were the first to occupy their particular ground.

<sup>v</sup> Eusebius (v. 24), who notices the agreement between the name of Irenæus (*Peaceful*) and his labours in the cause of peace.

<sup>w</sup> Iren. *Fragm. ibid.*

was at length restored. The Asiatics, in a circular letter, cleared themselves from all suspicion of heretical tendencies; and they were allowed to retain their usage until the time of the council of Nicæa.\*

It is hardly necessary to observe that the attempt<sup>y</sup> to press this affair into the service of the later papal claims is singularly unfortunate. Victor's behaviour, indeed, may be considered as foreshadowing that of his successors in the fulness of their pride; but his pretensions were far short of theirs; the assembling of the councils, although it took place at his request, was the free act of the local bishops;<sup>z</sup> he was unceremoniously rebuked for his measures, there is no token of deference to him as a superior, and his designs were utterly foiled.<sup>a</sup>

On proceeding to examine the heresies of the period, we find them different in character from those which we have hitherto met with. The fundamental question of Gnosticism was that as to the origin of evil, and the error of the sectaries consisted in attempting to solve this by theories which were chiefly derived from some other source than the Christian revelation. But the newer heresies come more within the sphere of Christian ideas. On the one hand, there is the practical, ascetic, enthusiastic sect of Montanus; on the other hand, speculation takes the form of an endeavour to investigate and define the scriptural doctrines as to the Saviour and the Godhead.

The origin of Montanism was earlier than the time at

\* Tillem. iii. 111; Mosh. 445. The council of Arles, in 314, ordered that Easter should everywhere be celebrated "on one day, and at onetime." (Can. 1); but this canon did not affect the east.

<sup>y</sup> Baron. A.D. 198. Tillemont candidly says that the cardinal's asser-

tions would be hard to prove. iii. 108.

<sup>z</sup> See Tillem. iii. 104.

<sup>a</sup> Basnage, vii. 5, 6 (t. i. 361); Planck, i. 119; Ellendorf, 'Der Primat. der röm. Päpste,' i. 115-19.



which we have arrived. By Epiphanius<sup>b</sup> it is in one place dated as far back as the year 126, while in another passage he refers it to the year 157; by Eusebius,<sup>c</sup> in 173; by others, about 150.<sup>d</sup> The founder, a native of Mysia, had been a heathen, and probably a priest of Cybele.<sup>e</sup> Soon after his conversion to Christianity, he began to fall into fits of ecstasy, and to utter ravings which were dignified with the name of prophecy; and his enthusiasm speedily infected two women of wealth and station—Maximilla and Priscilla—who forsook their husbands, and became prophetesses in connexion with him.<sup>f</sup> The utterances of Montanus and his companions aimed at the introduction of a more rigid system than that which had before prevailed in the church. They added to the established fasts both in number and in severity; they classed second marriages as equal in guilt with adultery; they proscribed military service and secular life in general; they denounced alike profane learning, the vanities of female dress, and amusements of every kind; they laid down rigorous precepts as to penance—declaring that the church had no power to remit sin after baptism, although they claimed such power for the Montanistic prophets; and that some sins must exclude for ever from the

<sup>b</sup> Hæres. li. 33; xlviii. 1. The earlier of these dates has been adopted by the wonderful boy Baratier (Kaye on Tertullian, p. 14, ed. 2). But on such a point the authority of a wonderful boy can hardly claim much deference; and see Péttau's notes on Epiphanius.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. Chron. ap. Hieron. t. viii. 630. Tillemont (ii. 667), and Mr. Clinton (A.D. 173), agree with him, as does also Péttau, in his notes on Epiphanius (p. 213), although in his work 'De Doctrina Temporum' (ii. 691, Paris, 1627), he gives the still later date of 179.

<sup>d</sup> Apollonius, the oldest authority,

writing under Commodus, places the origin about forty years before (ap. Euseb. H. E. v. 18); Epiphanius (xlviii. 1) says it was about the 19th year of Antoninus Pius (A.D. 148). See, too, Mosh. 412; Schröckh, iii. 61; Burton, ii. 155; Giesel. I. i. 196; Neand. ii. 206; Hefele, i. 71.

<sup>e</sup> This is inferred from his being styled an eunuch (Hieron. Ep. xli. 4) and "a priest of an idol." (Didym. de Trinit. iii. 41, p. 449, ed. Mingarell. Bonon. 1769.) Schwegler, one of the Tübingen school, supposes him to be mythical! Giesel. I. ii. 196.

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. v. 14, 16, 18.



communion of the saints on earth, although it was not denied that the mercy of God might possibly be extended to them hereafter.<sup>g</sup>

The progress of the sect did not depend on the character or abilities of its founder, who seems to have been a man of weak and disordered mind.<sup>h</sup> In the region of its birth it was congenial to the character of the people, as appears from the prevalence of the wild worship of Bacchus and Cybele among the Phrygians in earlier times.<sup>i</sup> Persecution tended to stimulate the imagination of the prophets, to exasperate them to fierceness, and to win a ready reception for their oracles.<sup>k</sup> And on penetrating into other countries, Montanism found multitudes already prepared for it by their tempers of mind, so that its work was nothing more than to draw these out into exercise. It held out attractions to the more rigid feelings by setting forth the idea of a life stricter than that of ordinary Christians; to weakness, by offering the guidance of precise rules where the gospel had contented itself with laying down general principles; to enthusiasm and the love of excitement, by its pretensions to prophetic gifts; to pride, by professing to realize the pure and spotless mystical church in an exactly defined visible communion, and by encouraging its proselytes to regard themselves as spiritual, and to despise or abhor all other Christians as carnal and "psychic."<sup>l</sup>

Montanus has been charged with styling himself the Paraclete, and even with claiming to be the Almighty Father.<sup>m</sup> The latter charge is a mistake, founded on the circumstance that he delivered his oracles in the name of the Father, whereas he did not in reality pretend to be

<sup>g</sup> Epiph. xlviii. 4; Tillem. ii. 433; Mosh. 414-420; Kaye on Tertullian, 394-5; Neand. ii. 218.

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 410-12; Kaye, 30.

<sup>i</sup> Neand. ii. 204; Milmar, ii. 213.

<sup>k</sup> Neand. ii. 206.

<sup>l</sup> *Spirituales* — *carnales*, *psychici*  
See Neand. Antignost. 6; Ch. Hist. ii. 200, 204, 219-20.

<sup>m</sup> Epiph. xlviii. 12.

more than his organ. Nor did he really assert himself to be the Holy Ghost, or Paraclete ; but he taught that the promise of the Comforter was not limited to the apostles, and that, having been imperfectly performed in them, it was now more entirely fulfilled in himself and his associates.<sup>n</sup> The progress of revelation was illustrated by the development of man ; it was said that Judaism had been as infancy ; the dispensation of the New Testament as youth ; and that the dispensation of the Paraclete was maturity.<sup>o</sup> The new revelation, however, was limited to the advancement of institutions and discipline ; it did not interfere with the traditional faith of Christians, but confirmed it.<sup>p</sup>

The Montanists held that the mind, under the prophetic influence, was to be merely passive, while the Spirit swept over it "as the plectrum over the lyre."<sup>q</sup> This comparison had been applied by Justin Martyr to the inspiration of the Hebrew prophets ;<sup>r</sup> but the idea, when taken up by the Montanists, was combated by the opponents of their system, some of whom maintained that the prophets of Scripture not only retained their human consciousness, but clearly understood the fulfilment of what they foretold.<sup>s</sup> Soon after the origin of the sect, some bishops wished to try the effect of exorcism on the

<sup>n</sup> Tillem. ii. 431 ; Mosh. 413 ; Kaye on Tertull. 21-6 ; Neand. ii. 210 ; Milman, ii. 214 ; Blunt on the Fathers, 610-11.

<sup>o</sup> Tertull. de Virg. velandis, c. 1.

<sup>p</sup> Neand. ii. 210-11 ; Giesel. I. i. 197. The prophetesses had visions which were alleged as confirming the doctrine of the resurrection in opposition to the Gnostics. (Mosh. 415.) But some of the later Montanists are charged with denying the distinction of persons in the Godhead. Theodoret, Hær. iii. 2.

<sup>q</sup> Epiph. xlviii. 4. Although in many

points—as in that mentioned in the preceding note—Montanism irresistibly reminds us of the modern magnetic pretensions, Baron Bunsen's conjecture (Hippolytus, i. 384), that Montanus meant by this to speak of *himself* (as the Paraclete) performing magnetic operations, appears too ingenious.

<sup>r</sup> Cohort. ad Græcos, 8 ; cf. Apol. i. 36.

<sup>s</sup> Epiph. xlviii. 3, 8. See John Smith's 'Select Discourses,' 213-14, ed. Lond. 1821 ; Newman in 'St. Athanasius against the Arians,' p. 467, note 1.

prophetesses ; but the Montanists would not allow the experiment.<sup>t</sup>

On his ejection from the church, Montanus organized a body of preachers, who were maintained by the oblations of his followers, and, notwithstanding the professed austerity of the sect, are broadly charged by its opponents with hypocrisy, covetousness, and luxury.<sup>u</sup> The order of bishops was only the third in the Montanistic hierarchy—patriarchs and *cenones* <sup>x</sup> being superior to it. The patriarch resided at Pepuza, a small town or village in Phrygia, to which the sectaries gave the mystical name of Jerusalem, as believing that it would be the seat of the millennial kingdom, which was a chief subject of their hopes. Hence they derived the names of Pepuzians and Cataphrygians.<sup>y</sup>

It is said, although not without doubt, by one ancient writer, that both Montanus and Maximilla ended their lives by hanging themselves, about forty years after the origin of their sect ;<sup>z</sup> a story which, if it were true, would rather prove that they were the victims of a diseased melancholy than warrant the conclusions against their morality which have been drawn from it.<sup>a</sup> Maximilla had declared that no prophetess would arise after her, but that the end of all things would immediately come ;<sup>b</sup> yet we find that other women of excitable temperament pretended to the prophetic character among the Montanists. The case of one, who is spoken of by Tertullian as falling into trances, in which she was consulted for revelations as to the unseen world and for medical prescriptions,

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. v. 16, 18.

<sup>u</sup> Apollonius ap. Euseb. v. 18 ; Tillem. ii. 426-8.

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. Ep. xli. 3. Neither the editors of St. Jerome nor the historians profess to explain this word.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. v. 18 ; Epiph. xlviii. 14 ; Theodoret, Hæc. iii. 2.

<sup>z</sup> Anon. ap. Euseb. v. 16. Comp. Tillem. ii. 427, 447.

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, iii. 61, 67.

<sup>b</sup> Epiph. xlviii. 2. The anonymous writer cited by Eusebius (v. 16), says that Maximilla had been dead fourteen years, yet no other prophetess had arisen.

bears a remarkable likeness to some narratives of our own day.<sup>c</sup>

In the west, Montanism was at first well received. It engaged the attention of the Lyonese martyrs during their imprisonment, and they wrote both to the Asiatic churches, and to Eleutherius, bishop of Rome,—not sanctioning the pretensions of the sect, but advising that it should be gently dealt with.<sup>d</sup> It benefited by the extravagance of some opponents, who in their zeal to oppose the inferences drawn from St. John's writings, both as to the promise of the Comforter and as to the millennial kingdom, denied the authority of those writings, and ascribed them to the heretic Cerinthus;<sup>e</sup> and the circumstance that the Asiatic church, at the very time when it was embroiled with the Roman church as to the paschal controversy, condemned the Montanists, was regarded in the west as a token of their orthodoxy.<sup>f</sup> Victor was on the point of formally acknowledging them, when an Asiatic named Praxeas, armed with the authority which was attached to the character of a confessor, arrived at Rome, and, by his reports as to the nature of the party, induced the bishop to change his opinion, and to excommunicate them.<sup>g</sup>

The Montanists loudly complained of it as a wrong that they were excluded from the church while they wished to remain in communion with it. This complaint,

<sup>c</sup> Tert. de Anima, c. 9; Giesel. I. i. 197; Colquhoun's 'Isis Revelata,' (ed. 2,) i. 22.

<sup>d</sup> Sup. p. 101; Euseb. v. 3.

<sup>e</sup> Epiph. li. 3. These were styled *Alogi*—a name of double meaning, which signified their rejection of the writings in which the *Logos* is mentioned, and also that they were *without reason*.

<sup>f</sup> Tillem. ii. 424.

<sup>g</sup> It is generally supposed that Victor

was the bishop of Rome of whom this is related by Tertullian (adv. Prax. c. 1). See Gieseler, I. i. 286-7, who gives 192 as the date. Neander, however, places the incident under Anicetus (ii. 206); and Bishop Pearson (Min. Works, ii. 501), who is followed by Dr. Beaven, ('Irenæus,' 12-13,) connects it with the application of the Lyonese martyrs to Eleutherius. See Bishop Wordsworth's 'St. Hippolytus,' 131.

however, is only an instance of the usual inability of partisans to view their own case fairly. By the rigour of its discipline, by the contempt with which its professors looked down on the great body of Christians, by enforcing its peculiarities under the sanction of a pretended revelation, Montanism had before virtually excommunicated the church; and we cannot doubt that, if tolerated, it would not have been content with anything short of supremacy.<sup>h</sup> Moreover, its spirit was strongly opposed to the regular authority of the church. The ordinary offices it disparaged as merely psychic: bishops were declared to be inferior to prophets; and prophets were distinguished, not by outward ordination, but by spiritual gifts and graces, so that they might belong to any class.<sup>i</sup> Nor can we wonder if the attitude which the Montanists assumed towards the state had a share in inducing the more peaceable Christians to disconnect themselves from them; for their prophecies in great part consisted of matter which by the Roman law amounted to treason,—denunciations of calamity, and exultation over the approaching downfall of the persecuting empire.<sup>k</sup>

The stern spirit of the sect animated its members to court persecution. Their zeal for martyrdom was nourished by the doctrine that the souls of martyrs would enter at once into the enjoyment of their full blessedness, whereas those of other righteous men would not receive their consummation until the end of the world. The Montanists were, however, preserved by their rigid views on the subject of penance from admitting the abuses which arose elsewhere as to the privilege of martyrs in granting indulgences.<sup>l</sup>

Although the sect and its subdivisions continued to

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 415, 419, 420, 422-3; Schröckh, iii. 70; Neand. ii. 220.

<sup>i</sup> Neand. ii. 212.

<sup>k</sup> Mosh. 411, 423; Schröckh, iii. 67 Giesel. I. i. 197.

<sup>l</sup> Neand. ii. 219. See below, ch. vi.

flourish for a time, and some remains of it existed in the sixth century, or even later,<sup>m</sup> the chief success of Montanism was gained in a different way—by infusing much of its character into the church.<sup>n</sup> It is probably to its congeniality with the spirit which afterwards became dominant in the west that Montanism owes the privilege which it alone, of the early heresies, possesses—that of being allowed to descend to us in the unmutated representations of one of its own champions.<sup>o</sup>

Tertullian was perhaps the most eminent man whom the church had seen since the days of the apostles. Of his character we have a full and distinct impression from his works; but the facts of his life are very obscure.<sup>p</sup> He was a native of Carthage, the son of a centurion, and is supposed to have been born about the year 160.<sup>q</sup> We learn from himself that he was originally a heathen, and that as such he partook in the prevailing vices of his countrymen.<sup>r</sup> That he had followed the profession of an advocate appears probable, no less from his style of argument than from his acquaintance with law, and from his use of forensic terms.<sup>s</sup> In addition to his legal learning, he shows a knowledge of physic and of natural philosophy, with extensive reading in poetry and general

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. ii. 444; Mosh. 415. Theophanes speaks of some Montanists as persecuted by Leo the Isaurian, A.D. 723 (p. 617); but it is questioned whether these were of the ancient sect so called.

<sup>n</sup> The most eminent late champion of Romanism does not hesitate to describe Montanism as an anticipation of the mediæval system. (Newman on Development, 350-1.) Prof. Archer Butler remarks that Dr. Newman "censures Tertullian solely, it would seem, for having arrived at perfection too soon—for having ambitiously presumed to be a mediæval saint before his time; perfect excellence in the

tenth century being palpable heresy in the second." Letters on Development, p. 82. Comp. Neand. ii. 213, and 'Antignost,' 113; Giesel. I. i. 210; Rettberg, 'Cyprianus,' 17.

<sup>o</sup> Dailé, 'De Usu Patrum,' pp. 5-6, ed. Genev. 1656. Tertullian's treatise on prophetic ecstasy is, however, lost. Kaye on Tertullian, 6-7

<sup>p</sup> Kaye, 12, 37-8.

<sup>q</sup> Tillem. iii. 196.

<sup>r</sup> Apol. 18; De Poenit. 1; De Resurr. Carnis, 59; Neand. Antignost. 9; Evans, i. 331.

<sup>s</sup> Tillem. iii. 198; Neand. Antign. 8-9.



literature; and he was master of the Greek language to such a degree as to compose treatises in it.<sup>†</sup>

After his conversion he became a presbyter of the church, and in that character resided both at Carthage and at Rome.<sup>‡</sup> His lapse into Montanism, which took place in middle life,<sup>§</sup> is ascribed by St. Jerome<sup>¶</sup> to the jealousy and slights which he met with at the hands of the Roman clergy; but, although it is very possible that Tertullian may have been treated by these in a manner which exasperated his impatient temper,<sup>‡</sup> the assigned motive has been generally discredited, and is indeed needless in order to account for his having joined a party whose opinions and practice accorded so well with his natural bent.<sup>¶</sup> We must be prepared to see frequently in the course of our history men of high gifts forsake the orthodox communion—led astray either by a restless spirit of speculation, or by a desire to realize the vision of a faultless church in a manner which Holy Scripture appears to represent as unattainable.<sup>b</sup>

Not only are the dates of the events in Tertullian's life and of his writings uncertain, but it is impossible to decide whether certain of his treatises were written before or after his defection. On the one hand, the subject of a work belonging to his Montanistic period may be such as to allow no room for displaying the peculiarities of his sect: on the other hand, a severity of tone, which seems like a token of Montanism, may be merely the result of the writer's temperament, or characteristic of

<sup>†</sup> He himself alludes to these (*De Baptismo*, 15; *De Virg. veland.* 1; *De Corona*, 6).

<sup>‡</sup> *Tillem.* iii. 198; 654-5. See *Kaye*, 10.

<sup>§</sup> Dr. Pusey dates his conversion in 196, and his lapse in 201. (*Introd. to Tert.*, *Oxf. Transl.* p. ii.) Cave's dates are respectively 185 and 199, *Hist. Lit.* i. 91.

<sup>¶</sup> *De VV.* *Illustr.* c. 53.

<sup>‡</sup> *Kaye*, 33-4. See *Cave*, *Hist. Lit.* i. 91. Tertullian's consciousness of his defects in temper appears from the treatise *De Patientia*, c. 1.

<sup>a</sup> *Neand. Antign.* 11, 14.

<sup>b</sup> See *Vincent. Lirin. Commonit.* 17-18. Dr. Pusey, while he blames Tertullian for his secession, appears to rest the defence of the church on somewhat ideal grounds. *vii. seqq.*



the more rigid party within the church.<sup>c</sup> The genius of Tertullian is gloomy and saturnine; the spirit of the gospel appears in him strongly tinged by the nature of the man.<sup>d</sup> He has a remarkable power of forcible argument and condensed expression; subtlety, acuteness, and depth; a wit alike pungent and delicate; an ardour which carries him over all obstacles, and almost hurries the reader along with him; but his mind is merely that of an advocate, and is wholly wanting in calmness, solidity, and the power of dispassionate judgment. His language is rude and uncouth, obscured by antiquated<sup>e</sup> and newly-coined words, by harsh constructions and perplexing allusions; his style, both of thought and of expression, is marked by tumour and exaggeration.<sup>f</sup> In another respect Tertullian's diction is very remarkable and important, as being the earliest specimen of ecclesiastical Latin. Hitherto the language of the western churches, not only in the Greek colonies of Gaul, but at Rome itself, had been Greek—the general medium of communication, and the tongue in which the oracles of Christianity were written. If Minucius Felix was (as some have supposed) older than Tertullian,<sup>g</sup> the subject of his treatise was not such as to require the use of any especially theological terms; it is therefore to the great African writer that the creation of a technical Christian Latinity is to be ascribed.<sup>h</sup>

Tertullian's 'Apology' was almost certainly composed before his lapse,<sup>i</sup> and is the masterpiece of the class to

<sup>c</sup> Kaye, 40-1.

<sup>d</sup> Neand. Antign. 9-10.

<sup>e</sup> Neander quotes the high authority of Niebuhr for the opinion that Tertullian's provincialisms are not (as has sometimes been supposed) Punic, but are purely Latin archaisms. Antignost. 13.

<sup>f</sup> Dupin, i. 104; Mosh. 222-3; Schrockh, iii. 322; Neand. ii. 443; Munter, Primordia Eccl. Afric. 131-2;

Bähr, ii. 34-7; Pusey, Introd. ix.; Blunt on the Fathers, 176; Ramsay, in Smith's Dict. of Biography, art. *Tertullian*; Pressensé, iii. 428-32.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 47, n. <sup>i</sup>.

<sup>h</sup> See Münter, 133; Giesel. I. i. 207; vi. 56; and especially Milman, Latin Christianity, i. 27-30.

<sup>i</sup> It is generally referred to A.D. 197 or 198. (Tillem. iii. 661; Giesel. I. i. 257; Mosh. ap. Migne, Patol. i. 535;

which it belongs.<sup>k</sup> In it he urges with his characteristic force, and with all the freshness of novelty, most of the topics which had been advanced by the earlier apologists; he adds many new arguments, both in favour of the gospel and in refutation of paganism; and he supplies to readers of later times much curious information as to the history and circumstances of the church. He felt himself entitled to insist on the progress of Christianity as an argument in its favour:—"We are a people of yesterday," he says, "and yet we have filled every place belonging to you—cities, islands, castles, towns, assemblies, your very camp, your tribes, companies, palace, senate, forum. We leave you your temples only. We can count your armies; our numbers in a single province will be greater."<sup>l</sup> The manner in which he meets the charges of disloyalty against his brethren is especially remarkable; he appeals to the fact (already noticed) that no Christians had been found among the partisans of the emperor's defeated rivals; and he states as a reason why Christians were bound to pray for the continuance of the empire, a belief that *it* was the obstacle which St. Paul had spoken of as "letting" the appearance of Antichrist.<sup>m</sup> In a later apologetic writing, the 'Address to Scapula,'<sup>n</sup> Tertullian again insists on the loyalty of Christians; but he declares that the blood of the saints cannot be shed without drawing down vengeance. His tone is full of scorn and defiance; he exults in the calamities and portents of the time, as signs and foretastes of the ruin which was about to fall on the persecutors.

On joining the Montanists, Tertullian embraced their

Pusey, 1.) Some, however, place it after the edict of Severus—as in 204-5. (Kaye, 40; Pagi in Baron. ii. 393.) Allix dates it as late as 217. Kaye, 48.

<sup>k</sup> Tzschirner, 385.

<sup>l</sup> C. 37. Oxf. Transl. i. 78.

<sup>m</sup> C. 32 (II Thessal. ii. 7).

<sup>n</sup> This is of the Montanistic period, and was written in the beginning of Caracalla's reign, when persecution had not yet ceased (about 211). Tillem. iii. 227, 667; Clinton, A.D. 211.

doctrine in its full rigour. The contempt of a *spiritalis* for the psychic church is uttered with all the vehemence of his character, and with all his power of expression. Although he himself was, or had been, married, he is violent against matrimony; to marry two wives in succession he regards as no less an offence than marriage with two at once; he would exclude bigamists from the church, without hope of reconciliation, although he does not deny that God may possibly accept their sincere repentance.<sup>o</sup> His views as to penance are of the severest kind; he denies that the church can remit deadly sin after baptism, but asserts the power of absolution for the prophets of his own sect.<sup>p</sup> He altogether condemns military service, as inconsistent with Christian duty, and inseparably mixed up with heathen observances.<sup>q</sup> One of his treatises was written in justification of a soldier who had been put to death for refusing to wear a garland on the occasion of a donative distributed in honour of the emperor. Tertullian argues that such use of flowers is a sinful vanity, inasmuch as it is not only heathenish, but contrary to nature.<sup>r</sup> In the tract 'De Spectaculis,'<sup>s</sup> he proscribes all attendance at public amusements, and fortifies his denunciations with tales of judgments inflicted

<sup>o</sup> De Monogam. 15; De Pudicitia, 1.

<sup>p</sup> De Pud. 21.

<sup>q</sup> De Corona, 11. He finds himself, indeed, obliged by Scripture (Luke iii. 14; Matt. viii. 10; Acts x. 29) to make an exception in favour of persons who had been soldiers before their conversion; but the sanction of their remaining in military service is clogged with conditions which practically annul it. (See Currey, 'Three Treatises of Tert.', Cambr. 1854, p. 145.) But the opinion as to the unlawfulness of military service does not seem to have been peculiar to his Montanistic days. See 'De Patientia,' 7. s. fin.

<sup>r</sup> De Cor. 7-10. Such acts as that of

this soldier were condemned by the church. (Baron. 201. 17; Bingham, XIV. iv. 8.) That Gibbon is wrong in referring the treatise to the period before Tertullian became a Montanist, see Kaye, 55. The usual date is about 201 (see Currey, Introd. p. xviii.), but by some it has been placed as late as the reign of Maximin.

<sup>s</sup> Dr. Pusey assigns this to the time before the author's lapse, and supposes it written on the celebration of Severus' victory over Albinus, A.D. 198. (Oxf. Transl. i. 187.) Others, as Tillemont (iii. 210), refer it to the secular games, A.D. 204.

on persons who had been present at them.<sup>t</sup> He regards flight in time of danger as a sin worse than the abjuration of Christ in the midst of tortures, and thinks that a Christian ought even to provoke persecution.<sup>u</sup>

Bitter as Tertullian became in his tone towards the communion which he had forsaken, he yet did not, like too many in similar circumstances, devote himself exclusively to the work of injuring it. He continued to be the champion of the gospel against paganism and Judaism; in treatises against Marcion, Valentinus, Hermogenes,<sup>x</sup> Praxeas, and other heretics, he maintained the common cause of his sect and of the church. St. Augustine states that in his last years he became the head of a distinct party of "Tertullianists," the remnant of which was recovered to the church in Augustine's own time, and probably through his exertions.<sup>y</sup>

<sup>t</sup> See Kaye, xvi.; Neand. Antign.

33.

<sup>u</sup> 'De Fugâ in Persecutione.' Another treatise, the 'Scorpiace,' is directed against the gnostic disparagement and evasion of martyrdom.

<sup>x</sup> Hermogenes was a painter by profession, and a countryman of Tertullian, who was excited to wrath against him, no less by the practical opposition of Hermogenes to the Montanistic rigour in the exercise of his art (which included the representation of heathen subjects), and in marrying twice or oftener, than by the heterodoxy of his opinions. (Adv. Hermog. i.) Like the Gnostics, he referred the origin of evil to matter. God, he argued, must have made the world either (1) of Himself, (2) of nothing, or (3) of something: the first supposition was impossible, because by it the world would have been a part of Himself, and therefore would not have been *made* at all; the second, because, as God both wills to make what is good, and knows how to make it, the existence of evil would be

unexplained. He must, therefore, have made the world, including the souls as well as the bodies of men, out of matter; and the defects in creation arise, not from his will, but from the nature of matter (c. 2). It would seem that Hermogenes did not found a sect, and died in the communion of the church (Mosh. 432); and, since Tertullian does not charge him with any other errors than those which have been mentioned, some other early writers may perhaps be mistaken in saying that he believed our Lord to have left his body in the sun. (Mosh. 434-5; Neand. ii. 280.) St. Augustine, however, describes him as a Sabellian. (De Hæres. 41.) A passage in Tertullian's tract against him is famous as seeming to deny the eternity of God the Son (c. 3). For a favourable explanation of it see Bull, v. 636, seqq.; Nat. Alex. v. 255; Kaye, 523.

<sup>y</sup> Aug. de Hæresibus, 86 (Patrol. xlii. 46). See Tillemont, iii. 233; xiii. 277. Neander conjectures that these

A dislike of the theories which have lately been vented in connexion with the term *development* must not be allowed to prejudice us against admitting that the doctrine of the church on the highest subjects has undergone a process for which perhaps no more appropriate name could be found.<sup>2</sup> This development was rendered necessary by the circumstances of the case ; its effect was to bring out into a distinct and scientific form truths which had before been not the less really held, although the minds of men had not been exercised in precisely defining them. Thus we can imagine, for example, that the cardinal verities of our Blessed Lord's Godhead and manhood may have been believed by Christians from the beginning, but that it may have been the work of a later time to attain to the full consciousness of such a belief, to investigate what is the proper meaning of Godhead and what of manhood, and what are the conditions of their union in the one person of the Saviour.<sup>a</sup> Where principles of truth have been given, it is a legitimate task for the mind enlightened and sanctified by the promised gifts of the Comforter to draw the proper inferences from them.<sup>b</sup> When an opinion new in expression was proposed, it was for Christians to ask themselves more distinctly than before what their belief on the subject had been—whether it agreed or disagreed with that which was now presented to them ; to compare their impressions with those of their brethren ; and in concert with these either to admit the doctrine as sound, or to reject it as contrary to the faith in which they had been trained.

were merely Montanists, who took their name from the most distinguished of their local chiefs rather than from the Phrygian heresiarch (ii. 445) ; but it seems unlikely that Augustine should have been mistaken. See Münster, 'Primordia,' 147.

<sup>2</sup> See Mill's Sermons on the Nature

of Christianity, 1848, pp. 17-20 ; Butler's Letters against Newman, pp. 69, 70, 219-22, 241, seqq., 316 ; Merivale, Boyle Lectures, ii. 19, 20, 41.

<sup>a</sup> Dorner, i. 65, 122.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 103 ; Butler, 55-6 ; Comar. Evagr. i. 11.

Thus it was that truth was drawn forth in its fulness by the assaults of error ; that that which had been a feeling and a conviction came by degrees to be stated in exact and formal dogmas.<sup>c</sup> Hence we can understand that the early Christian writers might use much loose and imperfect language on the highest points ; that they might even have a defective apprehension as to the details of doctrine ;<sup>d</sup> that they might employ terms which the church afterwards condemned, and might scruple at terms which the church afterwards sanctioned ; and yet that their belief was sound in itself, faithfully preserving the tradition of the apostles, and identical with the creed of the later church.<sup>e</sup> Nor is it any real disparagement to the believers nearest the apostolic age to say that on such matters they were less informed than those who came after them. Their work was not to investigate, but to act. Their worship and their whole Christian life implied the true faith ; their writings are penetrated by the conviction of it :<sup>f</sup> but as the men who had known the apostles or their immediate disciples passed away, a necessity arose of relying less on apostolic tradition, and having recourse in a greater degree to the apostolic writings. By the help of these the faith was now to be tested, confirmed, and systematized.<sup>g</sup>

In the last years of the second century the difficulty of reconciling the fundamental doctrine of the Divine unity (*monarchia*) with that of the threefold Name gave rise to

<sup>c</sup> Vinc. Lirin. 23 ; Joh. Scot. Erig. de Div. Provid. i. 4 (Patrol. cxxii.) ; Dorner, i. 110.

<sup>d</sup> "Certe antequam in Alexandria quasi dæmonium meridianum Arius nasceretur, innocenter quædam et minus caute locuti sunt, et quæ non possint perversorum hominum calumniam declinare." Hieron. adv. Rufin. ii. 17 (Patrol. xxiii.). Cf. Aug. de Catech. Rud. 19 (Ibid. xl.) ; in Psalm

liv. (ib. xxxvi. 643) ; Petav. de Trin. Præf. iii. 7 ; vi. ; Blunt on the Fathers, p. 160, seqq., 219, and Ser. ii. Lect. 10.

<sup>e</sup> Philaethes Cantabrigiensis (Bishop Kaye) in British Magazine, iv. 405-6 ; Dorner, i. 449.

<sup>f</sup> Dorner, i. 275.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 132, 409. See Liddon, Bampton Lectures, No. vii.



two different forms of heresy.<sup>h</sup> In the one, the unity was rescued by denying the Godhead of the second and third Persons; in the other, the names of Father, Son, and Holy Ghost were explained as merely denoting three different manifestations or aspects of one and the same Divine Person.

The leader in the former error was Theodotus, a native of Byzantium, who, although by trade a currier, is described as a man of learning and accomplishment. After having denied Christ in a time of persecution, when the brethren who had been arrested with him suffered martyrdom, he repaired to Rome, where at first he was well received; and when the history of his lapse became known, he excused himself by saying that he had denied not God, but man.<sup>i</sup> Thus he was led into his heresy, which seems to have admitted the miraculous conception of our Lord, but regarded him as nothing more than a man guided by a Divine influence.<sup>k</sup> Similar opinions were soon after professed by Artemon, who appears to have been unconnected with Theodotus, but was popularly classed with him.<sup>l</sup> Artemon pretended that his doctrine was not only scriptural but primitive—that it had been held in the church of Rome until the time of Zephyrinus, whose episcopate began in the year 202; but it was not difficult to refute such a pretence by a reference to Scripture, to the hymns and liturgical forms of the church, to the writings of the earlier fathers, and to the fact that on account of a like doctrine Theodotus had been excommunicated by Victor.<sup>m</sup> The Artemonites

<sup>h</sup> Novatian. de Trin. c. 30 (Patrol. iii.); Origen in Joh. t. ii. 2; Neand. ii. 293; Dorner, i. 497.

<sup>i</sup> Epiphan. liv. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 87; Schröckh, iii. 172; Dorner, i. 503-4. The mere humanity had been before maintained by the Ebionites (sup. p. 65); but

Theodotus was the first *Gentile* heresiarch who held this tenet.

<sup>l</sup> Giesel. I. i. 297.

<sup>m</sup> Baron. 196. 8; Tillem. iii. 78-100; Dorner, i. 508. These grounds were alleged by the writer of the 'Little Labyrinth' (ap. Euseb. v. 28), whom Baron von Bunsen and Bp. Words-



are described as students of mathematics and of the Aristotelian philosophy rather than of the Scriptures, which they treated in a very arbitrary way, each of their more noted teachers having a copy peculiar to himself.<sup>n</sup>

The other tendency which has been mentioned—that which regarded the names of the three Divine Persons as merely designating various aspects or operations of the one Deity—would appear to have existed as early as the days of Justin Martyr;<sup>o</sup> but it now for the first time found a distinct utterance in Praxeas. This man was an Asiatic, and, unlike Theodotus, had acquired by his constancy in persecution a degree of credit which was perhaps beyond his deserts, and was dangerous to the balance of his mind. We have already seen that he arrived at Rome when Victor or some other bishop was on the point of acknowledging the Montanists, and that by the information which his experience in Asia enabled

worth identify with the author of the 'Philosophumena,' ascribing both works to Hippolytus, bishop of Portus. Neander (ii. 298) had conjectured that Zephyrinus might have found himself obliged to guard against Artemonism by some new formula; but the *Philosophumena* (ix. 7) afford another explanation—that Zephyrinus inclined to the opposite heresy of Noëtus. Thus we may understand why the writer of the 'Labyrinth' contented himself with arguments which did not require him to vindicate, or in any way to notice, Zephyrinus. (Wordsworth's 'Hippolytus,' 135-7.) Theodoret says that some ascribed the 'Labyrinth' to Origen, but that the style proved it not to be his (*Hær.* ii. 5); others attributed it to Caius of Rome. (*Phot. Bibl.* 48.) Dr. Routh was the first to conjecture that Hippolytus was the author. *Rel. Sac.* ii. 143. [As all the writings ascribed to Caius have now by general consent been transferred to Hippolytus, with the exception of the 'Dialogue

with Proclus the Montanist,' of which only a few fragments remain, Dr. Lightfoot supposes this also to be the work of Hippolytus, and Caius to be merely the name of the orthodox interlocutor in the dialogue. *Journal of Philology*, i. 102, Cambr. 1868.]

<sup>n</sup> *Labyrinth.* ap. Euseb. v. 28. The writer tells a story of one Natalius, who, having acquired high repute as a confessor, was persuaded by the offer of a large stipend to give lustre to the sect of Artemonites by becoming a bishop among them. He was repeatedly warned against this in dreams, but disregarded them, until at length he had a vision of angels, who inflicted on him a severe beating, of which the marks remained after he awoke. On showing these, and professing deep contrition, he was with some difficulty readmitted into the church. See Neander, ii. 298.

<sup>o</sup> He indicates its existence in his *Dial. c. Tryph.* 128. *Doaner*, i. 518.

him to give, backed by his influence as a confessor, he persuaded the bishop to reject them.<sup>p</sup> But this good service to the faith was soon followed by the publication of his heresy, which he professed to ground on a few texts—compelling the rest of Holy Scripture to bend to these.<sup>q</sup> The sequel of his story is somewhat indistinct: it would seem that, after having been refuted at Rome, he passed over to Carthage, and it is said that he was there drawn into a recantation;<sup>r</sup> but perhaps this may have been no more than a disavowal of some tenets or inferences which were wrongly imputed to him.<sup>s</sup> He afterwards again maintained his heresy; when Tertullian, who is supposed to have been its chief opponent in the earlier stages, wrote the work against him which is our principal source of information on the subject.<sup>t</sup>

It now appears that two other teachers of the same kind, who have usually been placed somewhat later, belong to the period embraced in this chapter—Noëtus and Sabellius.<sup>u</sup> The common account of Noëtus hardly extends beyond the statements that he was of Ephesus or Smyrna; that, on venting his doctrines, he was questioned and excommunicated by the clergy of some Asiatic city; and that he died shortly after.<sup>x</sup> Of

<sup>p</sup> p. 107; Tert. adv. Prax. i. From the fact that both Theodotus and Praxeas at first met with a favourable reception at Rome, Neander (ii. 296) shows that the catholic doctrine as to the *Logos*, from which these heretics varied on different sides, must have been that which previously existed in the church, instead of being, as Baur supposes, devised by way of a compromise between them.

<sup>q</sup> Tert. adv. Prax. 20. <sup>r</sup> Ib. i.

<sup>s</sup> Neand. ii. 302.

<sup>t</sup> Tertullian is supposed to mean himself in saying that Praxeas was refuted at Rome, "per quem Deus voluit." (Adv. Prax. i.) He is equally

displeased with Praxeas for his good and for his evil:—"Duo negotia diaboli Praxeas Romæ procuravit; prophetiam expulit et hæresin intulit; Paracletum fugavit et Patrem crucifixit." Ib.

<sup>u</sup> Noëtus is usually placed about 235, and Sabellius about 257 (256-270, according to Mr. Clinton, ii. 422). As to Sabellius there had before been a suspicion of error. See below, Ch. vi. Tillemont would have placed Noëtus about A.D. 200, but for the vague authority of Epiphanius, which he attempts to meet by proposing 220 as a compromise. ii. 238.

<sup>x</sup> Epiph. lvii. 1.

Sabellius, personally, nothing was known except that he was a presbyter of the Libyan Pentapolis.<sup>y</sup> But the book which has been published as Origen's 'Philosophumena,' and which appears to be really the work of St. Hippolytus, bishop of Portus, at the mouth of the Tiber,<sup>z</sup> makes important additions to our information. It is there stated that Epigonus, a disciple of Noëtus, repaired to Rome, and made a proselyte of one Cleomenes, who opened a school of Noëtianism;<sup>a</sup> that Cleomenes won over Callistus, who had great influence with the bishop, Zephyrinus (A.D. 202-218); that the bishop, an "illiterate man and greedy of filthy lucre," was bribed into licensing Cleomenes as a teacher, and at length himself became his convert; that Callistus endeavoured, by a crafty policy, to hold the balance between the heretics and the orthodox; that, after suc-

<sup>y</sup> Theod. Hær. ii. 9.

<sup>z</sup> The title of 'Philosophumena' properly belongs only to the earlier books, the general title being 'A Refutation of all Heresies.' Book I. has been long known, and is in vol. i. of De la Rue's edition of Origen (pp. 873, seqq.) Books II. and III. are lost. The remainingsix books were published for the first time at Oxford, in 1851, by M. Emmanuel Miller, of Paris, from a MS. in the Bibliothèque Nationale—one of a number brought from a convent on Mount Athos in 1842. An improved text, with a Latin version, by Professors Schneidewin and Duncker has since appeared. (Göttingen, 1859.) See vol. i. of Bunsen's 'Christianity and Mankind;' Bp. Wordsworth's 'St. Hippolytus and his Age,' Lond. 1853; Döllinger's 'Hippolytus und Kallistos,' Regensb. 1853; Cruice, 'Études sur de nouveaux Documents Historiques,' Paris, 1853; Milman's 'Latin Christianity,' i. 41; Churton's Preface to Pearson's 'Vindiciæ Ignatianæ,' p. xxvii. (ed. Anglo-Cath. Library):

Pressensé, iii. 498-504. Dr. Barrow, late Principal of St. Edmund Hall, Oxford, is said to have been the first to ascribe the authorship to Hippolytus, who had, indeed, been supposed by some to have been the author of the book previously known. (See Harles, in Fabric. 'Bibl. Gr.' vii. 227.) Professor v. Döllinger denies that Hippolytus was bishop of Portus, and regards him as a presbyter, who set up as bishop of Rome in rivalry to Callistus (pp. 73, 101-4, &c.). Against this view (which is maintained with great learning and ability) see a supplemental note in Dean Milman's first volume, and the article *Hippolytus* in Herzog. Mgr. Cruice (an Irish ecclesiastic, late bishop of Marseilles), supposes the book to have been written either by Tertullian (as to whom his argument seems exceedingly weak) or by Caius, whose name had also been suggested by other writers, but whose existence seems now to be doubtful.

<sup>a</sup> It had usually been said, after Theodoret (Hær. iii. 3), that Noëtus

ceeding Zephyrinus in the see<sup>b</sup> (A.D. 218), he cast off and excommunicated Sabellius, whom he had before misled; and that he founded a new party of "Callistians," which combined laxity of discipline and morals with heretical doctrine.<sup>c</sup> According to this account, then, it appears that both Sabellius and some followers of Noëtus were teaching at Rome in the early years of the third century.

The kind of error which was common to Praxeas,<sup>d</sup> Noëtus, and Sabellius, was capable of various forms. Thus, it might be held that the one Godhead dwelt in the man Jesus in such a way as to justify the name *Patripassian*, given to Praxeas by his opponents, who argued that, if there were no distinction of persons, the Father must be the same who suffered on the cross;<sup>e</sup> or that the names of the three Persons denote so many energies, emanating from the one Monad, and again to be absorbed into him after the fulfilment of their work.<sup>f</sup> Noëtus was more refined than Praxeas, and Sabellius than Noëtus. Sabellius maintained that God is in himself the Monad; that when revealed, he is "extended" into the Trinity.<sup>g</sup> He acknowledged three "persons," but used the word

was the pupil of Cleomenes, and he of Epigonus; but on comparing the passages (Wordsw. 314) it appears that Theodoret is mistaken. See Bunsen, i. 386.

<sup>b</sup> See Wordsworth, 84-91.

<sup>c</sup> L. ix. 7-12; Wordsw. 226-275. This is supposed to throw light on a passage of Tertullian which has caused much perplexity—"Audio etiam edictum esse propositum, et quidem peremptorium. Pontifex scilicet maximus, quod est episcopus episcoporum, edicit, 'Ego et mœchiæ et fornicationis delicta pœnitentia functis dimitto.' O edictum, cui adscribi non poterit Bonum factum!" &c. De Pudicitia, 1.

<sup>d</sup> It is very remarkable that St.

Hippolytus, in his view of all the heresies, makes no mention of Praxeas. [Hagemann would account for this by identifying him with Callistus, and supposing Praxeas to be a nickname.]

<sup>e</sup> Tillem. iii. 75.

<sup>f</sup> See Mosh. 688-699; Newman on Arianism, 128, seqq.; Giesel. I. i. 299-300; Dorner, i. 696, seqq.

<sup>g</sup> Theod. Hær. ii. 9, 10. A passage in which St. Athanasius (Orat. iv. c. Arianos, 25) has been generally supposed to ascribe this opinion to Sabellius (as by Neander, ii. 319, and Döllinger, Hipp. u, Kall, 204) is referred by Dr. Newman to Marcellus of Ancyra. Note in Athan. Discourses, 543.

in a sense which may be termed merely dramatic—as meaning characters, assumed or represented. He illustrated his idea by comparison with the three elements of man—body, soul, and spirit ; and with the threefold combination in the sun, of shape or substance, light, and heat.<sup>h</sup>

It does not appear that Praxeas was able to found a sect. Theodoret mentions Callistus as the successor of Noëtus ;<sup>i</sup> and this teacher, of whose earlier life a very discreditable account is given in the ‘*Philosophumena*,’ is now, by means of that work, identified with a canonized bishop of Rome.<sup>k</sup> But although the heresy, thus supported, flourished for a time, the Noëtians or Callistians soon became extinct. The sect of Sabellians is said to have lasted into the fifth century.<sup>l</sup> It was, however, never numerous ; and the significance of Sabellius’ name is not as the founder of a separate body, but as indicating one of the tendencies into which speculation has run when exercised on the mystery of the Godhead.

In this period we find that Christianity and heathen philosophy, in preparing for a continuation of their struggle, adopt something of each other’s armour ; and Alexandria—a city of which the intellectual character has been already sketched in connexion with the origin of gnosticism—becomes the chief seat, both of philosophical Christianity and of the reformed paganism. If

<sup>h</sup> Epiph. lxii. 1 ; Neander, ii. 318-320 ; Dorner, i. 703. Dorner says (i. 807) that Sabellianism was “*Docetism raised to a higher power*” (*i.e.* it transferred to the Divinity that notion of unreal appearance which docetism connected with the Saviour’s human body).

<sup>i</sup> Hier. iii. 3. Comp. Wordsworth,

133.

<sup>k</sup> ix. 11-12. In the pseudo-Isidorian

decretals (as to which see hereafter, book V. c. i., sect. 4), Sylvester I. is represented as condemning Callistus for Sabellianism, but without any suspicion that he was one of his own predecessors. Hard. i. 289, c. 2.

<sup>l</sup> Schröckh, iv. 168. They are mentioned, and their baptism is rejected, in the seventh canon attributed to the second general council (A.D. 381). But that canon is spurious.

the gospel were to make its way on such ground, it was necessary that it should be presented in a shape attractive to men of learning and cultivation.<sup>m</sup> The catechetical school of Alexandria is said by some writers to have existed even from the time of St. Mark;<sup>n</sup> if so, it was probably at first nothing more than an institution for the teaching of catechumens—the name given to proselytes who were preparing for baptism. But about the middle of the second century it assumed a different character, and became a seminary for the training of clergy, and for completing the instruction of the most highly educated converts.<sup>o</sup> The mastership was held by a succession of eminent men, of whom the first that can be named with certainty was Pantænus, a convert from the stoic philosophy.<sup>p</sup> Pantænus is described by his pupil Clement<sup>q</sup> as superior to all his contemporaries; St. Jerome<sup>r</sup> tells us that he composed many commentaries on Scripture, but did still greater service to the church by his oral teaching. He is also celebrated as having undertaken a missionary journey into India<sup>s</sup>—a name which has in this case been variously interpreted as meaning Hindostan, Arabia, and Ethiopia or Abyssinia.<sup>t</sup> Although the order of events in his life is uncertain, it has been generally supposed that Pantænus presided over the catechetical school before this expedition, and that he resumed the mastership on his return.<sup>u</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Giesel. I. i. 312.

<sup>n</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 36.

<sup>o</sup> Bingham, III. x. 5; Mosh., 273; Schröckh, iii. 187; Matter, 'École d'Alexandrie,' i. 218, seqq.; Neand. ii. 227.

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. v. 10. As to Athenagoras, see above, p. 47.

<sup>q</sup> See below, n. 7.

<sup>r</sup> De VV. Illustr. 36.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. v. 10. Tillemont (iii. 173) dates it about 189; Gieseler (I. i. 161),

about 180. Mr. Clinton says that it was "not before" A.D. 190.

<sup>t</sup> See Mosh. 206-7, who, with Neander (i. 111-12) and Gieseler, understands Arabia to be meant; and, since it is stated by Eusebius that Pantænus found a Gospel of St. Matthew in Hebrew letters, which had been left by the apostle St. Bartholomew, Mosheim supposes that those who invited him must have been Jewish Christians.

<sup>u</sup> See note on St. Jerome, de VV.



His successor was Clement—usually styled after the place of his residence, although he was probably a native of Athens.<sup>x</sup> Clement had been converted to the faith after reaching manhood, and had then travelled through various countries in search of wisdom, until at length he found satisfaction in the teaching of Pantænus.<sup>y</sup> After having presided over the school for some years, he was driven from his post by the persecution of Severus. Of his after life it is only known that he sojourned in Cappadocia and at Jerusalem; but he is supposed to have returned to Alexandria, and to have died there about the year 220.<sup>z</sup>

By these men a new system of thought was introduced into the church. The earlier Christians, for the most part, had viewed all heathen philosophy through the medium of the dislike occasioned by its opposition to the gospel; a large party of them had referred its origin to the devil,<sup>a</sup> or to the angels who fell through their love for the “daughters of men.”<sup>b</sup> Clement, however, claims for philosophy a far different source. It is, he says, “the gift of God,” “a work of Divine providence;”<sup>c</sup> it had been given to the Greeks, even as the law was to the Jews, and for like purposes; it had been necessary for their justification before Christ came, and was still to be regarded as a preparative for the gospel; and, if rightly understood, was compatible with it.<sup>d</sup> And by

Illustr. (Patrol. xxii. 653); Cave, Hist. Lit. i. 84. Archdeacon Evans thinks that he did not become master of the school until after his mission. i. 293.

<sup>x</sup> Tillem. iii. 181.

<sup>y</sup> Clem. Strom. i. 1, p. 322, and notes; Euseb. v. 11; Kaye on Clement, 113.

<sup>z</sup> Tillem. iii. 183; Giesel. I. i. 314.

<sup>a</sup> Clem. Strom. vi. 8, p. 773.

<sup>b</sup> Mosh. 278-9; Kaye, 119. Tertul-

lian (De Præscr. 7) expresses himself very strongly as to the incompatibility of philosophy with Christian faith. See Gieseler, I. i. 345; vi. 57. Clement himself thinks that secrets were communicated by the angels who loved the daughters of men. Strom. v. 1, p. 670.

<sup>c</sup> Strom. i. 1, p. 327; i. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Strom. i. 5, p. 331; vii. 3, p. 839; Mosh. 275; Kaye, 116, 227-8, 428.



*philosophy*, he declares, was not here meant the system of any sect in particular, but “the *eclectic*, which embodies whatsoever is well said by each of the sects in teaching righteousness and religious knowledge;” while he would distinguish the truth thus conveyed from the human reasonings with which it is adulterated.<sup>e</sup> He maintains that all learning may be sanctified and turned to good; that the cultivation of it is necessary in order to confute the sophistries of false philosophy.<sup>f</sup> He labours to vindicate the claim of the “barbarians” to philosophical knowledge,<sup>g</sup> to identify the doctrines of philosophy with those of Scripture, and to derive the wisdom of the Greeks from the sacred oracles of the Hebrews.<sup>h</sup>

In these opinions there was much that savoured of gnosticism; but the more orthodox Alexandrian school differed from the Gnostics by denying the alleged opposition between faith and knowledge, and maintaining that faith must lie under all Christian knowledge, in every stage of the spiritual and intellectual progress.<sup>i</sup> They held that the work of Christian philosophy was to unfold to knowledge the meaning of the truths which had been embraced by faith: that while faith receives its doctrines from tradition, knowledge must be able to prove them from Scripture.<sup>k</sup> The term *gnostic* was adopted by the Alexandrians to denote the highest Christian character.<sup>l</sup> Of Clement’s three chief extant works, which form a series rising one above another, while the first (the ‘Exhortation to the Gentiles’) is addressed to persons

<sup>e</sup> Strom. i. 7, p. 338. Comp. vi. 7, p. 768, and Newman on Arianism, 91-2, 98.

<sup>f</sup> Strom. i. 9; i. 27, p. 337; vi. 10.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. i. 14-16; vi. 8, p. 774.

<sup>h</sup> Cohort. ad Gentes, 6, p. 60; Strom. i. 25; ii. 18; vi. 2, seqq. He says that Scripture charges the Greeks with being “thieves” of the barbaric

philosophy—which is supposed to be an allusion to St. John x. 8. Strom. ii. 1, init., and note.

<sup>i</sup> Clem. Pædag. i. 6, pp. 117, seqq.; Strom. ii. 6, p. 445.

<sup>k</sup> Strom. vii. 10, p. 866; Neand. ii. 228-231.

<sup>l</sup> Strom. i. 13.

without the church, and the second (the 'Pedagogue') contains moral instruction for converts, the third, which from its miscellaneous character has the title of "Stromata" (Tapestry-work),<sup>m</sup> is intended to portray the character of the perfect gnostic, and, by supplying instruction which might satisfy the highest desires of the intellect, to preserve from the "knowledge falsely so called" of such teachers as Basilides and Valentinus.

The combination of philosophy with the gospel led, however, to some very questionable results. In Clement's own hands—especially if we may trust the accounts which are given of a lost work entitled 'Hypotyposes'—it appears to have sometimes gone beyond the bounds of orthodoxy; and, when taken up by Origen and others, it became yet more decidedly dangerous.<sup>o</sup>

The most lasting of the evils which this school introduced into the church was its license of figurative interpretation in explaining Holy Scripture. For this Alexandria was a congenial soil; there it had been employed on the Old Testament to an immoderate extent by the Jew Philo:<sup>p</sup> and the epistle which is ascribed to St. Barnabas, and in which this method is perhaps carried as far as in any Christian writing, was probably the work of an Alexandrian convert from Judaism. But whereas the figurative interpretation had hitherto been an unregulated practice, it was now reduced to method. Scripture, it was said, has three senses—the historical, the moral, and the mystical; and the first of

<sup>m</sup> The title is explained, I. iv. c. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Photius, Biblioth., 109. Baron v. Bunsen supposes the so-called eighth book of the 'Stromata' and the 'Excerpta ex Theodoto,' to be parts of the 'Hypotyposes.' *Analecta Antenicæna*, t. i.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. 274; Neander, ii. 245; Gieseler, I. i. 322; Merivale, 'Boyle

Lectures,' ii. 14-20. On Clement's almost docetic language (e.g. *Strom.* vi. 9, p. 775) see Neand. ii. 370; Hagenb. i. 169; Redepenning's 'Origenes,' i. 442; Giesel. vi. 442.

<sup>p</sup> See Gfrörer, i. 59-61. Origen highly praises Philo. Adv. Celsum, iv. 51.

these was treated as if it were merely subservient to the others.<sup>4</sup> There was something in the system attractive at once to ingenuity of speculation and to a pious feeling of the depth of God's word; but the effect too commonly was that, instead of seeking for the real meaning of each passage, men set themselves to discover some fanciful analogy to ideas which they had derived from other parts of Scripture, or from altogether different sources. The historical sense was left out of sight, or even denied; the moral sense was often perverted; nor can an unprejudiced reader open any work in which this kind of interpretation is followed without feeling how utterly unlike it is, in its general character, to those scriptural instances of figurative interpretation which its advocates allege as precedents for it. The facilities which it afforded for pretending to prove anything whatever from Scripture must no doubt have contributed to render it popular, both in the church and among sectaries.<sup>5</sup> In our own time, while an unhappy attempt has been made

<sup>4</sup> Origen in Levit. v. 5; Mosh. 629, seqq.

<sup>5</sup> The following comment on St. Matt. i. 6, which has the authority of St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, and many others, may be cited as an instance:—"Mystically, David is Christ. Urias, *i.e.* 'God is my light,' is the devil, who says, 'I will be like the Highest' (Is. xiv. 14). To him the church was married, when Christ on the throne of the Majesty of His Father loved her, and, having made her beautiful, united her to Himself in wedlock. Or Urias is the Jewish nation, who through the Law boasted of their light. From them Christ took away the Law, having taught it to speak of Himself. Bersabee is the 'well of satiety,' that is, the abundance of spiritual grace." (Gloss quoted in the 'Catena Aurea,' i. 28, Oxf. 1341; Ambros. Apol. pro. Dav.

3; Aug. c. Faust. xxii. 87; Raban. Maur. in loc., Patrol. cvii. 734.) Augustine, indeed, says, "Iste quidam David graviter scelerateque peccavit;" but it would not be easy to bring the interpretation under the principle which he lays down (*ibid.* 83),—"Quæ ad significandum scribuntur, nihil refert in moribus facientium quam laudem reprehensionemve mereantur, si modo habeant aliquam rei, de qua agitur, necessariam præfigurandi congruentiam." In the hands of Latin writers the mystical system was liable to additional abuse, inasmuch as their interpretations were often founded on misconstruction of Greek as well as of Hebrew words.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Maitland, 'Eruvin,' ed. 2. p. 27. It had been much used by the Valentinians. *Iren.* i. 3; i. 8; *ii.* 24.

to revive it in the English church, it has been turned to a very different account by the German school which would resolve the Scripture narrative into a series of fables. These writers claim Origen and his brother allegorists as their own forerunners; for why (they ask) should such violence have been done to Scripture in the way of allegorical interpretation, but that the fathers felt its literal sense to be absurd, incredible, and revolting?<sup>t</sup>

In common with some heathen sects, with the school of Philo, and with the Gnostics, the Alexandrians professed to possess a higher and more mysterious knowledge of religious things, derived from tradition, and hidden from those who were not worthy to receive it.<sup>u</sup> By the system which in later times has been styled the "discipline of the secret"<sup>x</sup> was not meant that concealment of the higher doctrines and rites which was practised towards the heathen, and was in part continued towards the converts who were in training for baptism;<sup>y</sup> but, as appears from the hints given by Clement, the matters which it held in reserve were philosophical explanations of Christian doctrine, and precepts for the formation of the perfect Gnostic.<sup>z</sup> He compares the discipline to with-

<sup>t</sup> See the Introduction to Strauss' 'Leben Jesu,' and comp. Evans, i. 304-9.

<sup>u</sup> Clem. Strom. i. 12; vii. 10, p. 865. Tertullian (De Præscr. 22) strongly denies the existence of such secret tradition. See Kaye on Clement, 362; on Tertullian, 31-3, 234-5.

<sup>x</sup> This term appears to have been first used by G. T. Meier, in a book published A.D. 1679. Giesel. I. i. 354; Rothe in Herzog, i. 469.

<sup>y</sup> This, however, is what Rothe understands under the name in his treatise 'De Discipl. Arcani' (Heidelb. 1841)—and in his article *Arcan-Disciplina* in Herzog's Encyclopædia, dis-

tinguishing it from 'Theologia Arcana,' p. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Mosh. 303, seqq.; Kaye on Clem. 362. The idea of some Romish controversialists, that the later peculiarities of their system had been preserved in the early church by the "disciplina arcana," appears to be now abandoned in favour of the "development" theory. See Bingham, X. x. 1; Schröckh, iv. 373; Philalethes Cantabrigiensis (Bp. Kaye), in British Magazine, iv. 402-3; Archer Butler on Development, 12; Ritter in Herzog, i. 469. On the difference between Clement's system of reserve and that of the fourth century, see Gieseler, I. i. 355.

holding a knife from children out of fear lest they should cut themselves.<sup>a</sup> This method is supposed to have originated not long before the time of Clement, and it was impossible that it should last. While we admit a legitimate use of discretion in communicating religious knowledge, we cannot but see that in this kind of reserve there were great dangers; and in the hands of the Alexandrians it undoubtedly led to a system of equivocation towards the uninitiated which was injurious to truth and to morality.<sup>b</sup>

The opposition on the side of heathen philosophy which has been mentioned was carried on by the Neoplatonic school—founded at Alexandria in the reign of Severus, by Ammonius, who, from having been a porter in early life, was styled *Saccas*, or the Sack-carrier.<sup>c</sup> Although his doctrine professed to be a continuation of Platonism, it was not only mixed with tenets from other Grecian systems, but also contained a strong Egyptian element;<sup>d</sup> and it was especially remarkable for the new views which it opened on the subject of heathen religion. Hitherto Platonists had been content to maintain the popular system outwardly, while they taught a more refined doctrine to their disciples; but now paganism was to be itself reformed; it was to be explained as a scheme of purer and deeper character, so that either the way might be paved for a combination with the gospel, or a position might be gained for effectively resisting its advances.<sup>e</sup> The Neoplatonists admitted that Christianity

<sup>a</sup> Strom. i. 1, p. 324. See Blunt on the Fathers, 171.

<sup>b</sup> Giesel. i. 319-20.

<sup>c</sup> Tillem. iii. 279.

<sup>d</sup> Mosh. 293.

<sup>e</sup> Giesel. I. i. 250-4. Neander (i. 46-7) well shows how Platonism pre-

pared for the gospel, and yet became its bitter enemy. See too Hampden, Bampton Lect., Sermon I.; Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 300-2; Schaff. 155-60; and on Neoplatonism, Presensé, iv. 35-64.

contained great truths, but asserted that in it these were obscured by barbarism, and that the old traditional religion, if freed from popular corruptions and rightly understood, would be found to exhibit them in a purer form.<sup>f</sup> Christ himself was classed with sages of the first rank; it was said that his object had been to reform religion; that his own views had agreed with those of the Neoplatonists, but that his followers had corrupted his system by spurious additions—among which were the doctrines of his Godhead and mediation, and the prohibition of worshipping the gods.<sup>g</sup> Neoplatonism had much in common with some forms of gnosticism; it aimed at uniting the wisdom of all ages and of all nations in one comprehensive scheme; and in order to effect the union it had recourse to many strange evasions and forced constructions.<sup>h</sup> It laid down the doctrine of one supreme God, and acknowledged the Platonic Trinity, consisting of the One, his Intelligence (*νοῦς*), and his Soul (*ψυχή*).<sup>i</sup> In subordination to these, it held the existence of many inferior gods and demons, the ministers of the Supreme; and it represented the vulgar polytheism as a corruption of this truth.<sup>k</sup> With the loftier doctrines of the sect were combined much fanciful super-

<sup>f</sup> Giesel. I. i. 254; Ozanam, 'Civil. Chrét. au 5me Siècle,' i. 127, seqq. "Clemens affirmed that truth was dispersed in different portions through most of the stories of the pagan mythology and the several sects of philosophy, and that the great error of the heathens consisted principally in this,—that each nation, party, and sect, having but a portion of truth, and some of them a very small portion of it, persuaded themselves that they possessed the whole: whereas Ammonius is said to have affirmed that each sect and party would be found to be possessed of all the most important doctrines of true religion, if their principles, tenets,

and mythologies were properly interpreted." Morgan on the Trinity of Plato, p. 121, ed. Holden, Camb. 1853.

<sup>g</sup> Augustin. de Civ. Dei, XIX. xxiii. 2, 4 (quoting a lost work of Porphyry); De Consensu Evang. i. 7, 9, 34.

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 283; Tzschirner, 424; W. A. Butler, 'Lectures on Ancient Philosophy,' ii. 359.

<sup>i</sup> Plotin. Ennead. V. i. 10 (p. 491, A. ed. Basil, 1580); Butler, ii. 354-6; Ozanam, i. 129. See Pressensé, iv. 62.

<sup>k</sup> Mosh. 284, 295; Giesel. I. i. 251-2.



stitution and a devotion to theurgical practices. Its practical precepts were severe; an ascetic life was required in order to emancipation from the bonds of sense, to the acquisition of power over spirits, and to union with the Deity.<sup>m</sup>

Ammonius was originally a Christian, and it has been maintained by some that, notwithstanding the character of his oral and secret teaching, he remained to the end in outward communion with the church.<sup>n</sup> It is, however, more commonly believed that he openly lapsed into heathenism. Among his pupils were both Christians and pagans; of the former, Origen was the most eminent; from among the latter he may be said to have founded a dynasty of teachers, which included Plotinus, Porphyry, and Iamblichus.<sup>o</sup> It may be easily understood that a system so comprehensive as Neoplatonism had strong attractions for persons perplexed by the controversies of Christians with pagans, of orthodox with heterodox, and of philosophical sects with each other. It soon almost superseded every other form of heathen philosophy; it lasted until the sixth century; and in it the gospel found the most subtle and the most formidable of its adversaries.<sup>p</sup>

<sup>m</sup> Mosh. 289; Tzschirner, 436; Giesel. I. i. 252; Pressensé, iv. 44, 55, &c.

<sup>n</sup> Porphyry is contradicted by Eusebius (vi. 19), for stating that Ammonius, after becoming a philosopher, forsook Christianity. But, although Baronius (234. 5), Tillemont (iii. 279), and Cave (i. 109), adhere to Eusebius, while Bayle appears unexpectedly on their side (art. *Ammonius*), and Dr. Newman is inclined to agree with them ('Arians,' 113),—and although Mosheim, after having maintained the contrary, came over to the same opinion (281-2),—it is generally supposed that Eusebius was mistaken.

and confounded Saccas with another Ammonius. Brucker, ii. 207-9; Schröckh, iii. 290; Heinichen, not. in Euseb. t. ii. 202; Burton, ii. 293; Neand. ii. 464; Giesel. I. i. 251; Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. v. 101-3. See too J. W. Donaldson, 'Hist. of Gr. Literature,' iii. 184-6.

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. iii. 283-4; Mosh. 281; Giesel. I. i. 251. Plotinus, however, settled at Rome, and there was no eminent teacher of the sect at Alexandria after the founder's death. Newman on Arianism, 119; Gfrörer, i. 453, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Mosh. 281; Schröckh, iii. 297.

But the very refinement of the system unfitted it for obtaining a hold on the mass of mankind; and the living conviction of the truth of the old religions was gone for ever.<sup>a</sup>

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## CHAPTER VI

FROM ALEXANDER SEVERUS TO VALERIAN.

A.D. 222-260.

ELAGABALUS was succeeded in 222 by his cousin Alexander Severus, a boy of sixteen. The young emperor was inclined to favour the Christians, partly through the influence of his mother, Mammæa, who, notwithstanding her acknowledged vices of avarice and ambition, is described both by heathen writers and by Eusebius as a "very devout woman."<sup>a</sup> Alexander had many Christians in his household.<sup>b</sup> In appointing to civil offices he adopted a rule observed by the church in ordinations—that the names of candidates should be publicly exhibited, and that an opportunity of objecting to them should be allowed.<sup>c</sup> He frequently used the evangelical maxim of "doing to others as we would that they should do to us," and caused it to be inscribed on the walls of his palace, and of other public buildings.<sup>d</sup> When a piece of land, which had been re-

<sup>a</sup> Tzschirner, 473-4; Milman, ii.

239.

<sup>a</sup> Θεοσεβεστάτη καὶ εὐλαβὴς (Euseb. vi. 21). "Mulier sancta sed avara, et auri atque argenti cupida." Lamprid. Vit. Alex. 15

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. vi. 28.

<sup>c</sup> Lampr. 45.

<sup>d</sup> "Quod a quibusdam sive Judæis sive Christianis audierat. . . . 'Quod tibi fieri non vis, alteri ne feceris.'" (Lampr. 51.) In this negative form the maxim is found not only in the Talmud, but (as Gibbon, v. 287, ob-

garded as common, was taken by a Christian congregation as a site for a church, and the company of victuallers at Rome set up a rival claim, he adjudged it to the Christians, on the ground that any kind of religious use would be better than the conversion of it into a tavern.<sup>e</sup> Nay, it is said that he thought of enrolling Christ among the gods, and erecting a temple to him.<sup>f</sup>

It is, however, a mistake to suppose either the emperor or his mother to have been a Christian.<sup>g</sup> Mammæa's interest in the gospel appears to have really not extended beyond a slight inquiry into its doctrines and a favourable opinion of its professors. Alexander's religion was eclectic: he had in his oratory images, not only of Roman gods, including such of his predecessors as had been deified, but of Isis and Serapis, of Orpheus, Abraham, and Apollonius of Tyana; and with these was associated the image of the Saviour.<sup>h</sup> It is evident, therefore, that the emperor did not regard Christianity as the one true religion, but as one of many forms, all acceptable to the Deity, all containing somewhat of truth, and differing only in outward circumstances; that he revered its Founder, not as Divine, but as one worthy to be ranked among the chief of the sages who have enlightened and benefited mankind.<sup>i</sup> Nor, although the Christians were, on the whole, practically tolerated in this reign, was anything done towards the establishment of a formal and legal toleration; indeed there were some instances of per-

serves) in Isocrates. The Christian maxim, however, is positive—a very important difference. See Guizot, note on Gibbon, in loc., and Tholuck, 'Ausleg. der Bergpredigt,' ed. 3, p. 436. We may ask, then,—(1) Is Lampridius right in saying that Alexander used the negative form? (2) If so, did he derive it from a Christian source

<sup>e</sup> Lampr. 49. This was the origin of the church of St. Mary in Trastevere—which, however, did not receive its present name until long after.

<sup>f</sup> Ibid. 43.

<sup>g</sup> Tillemont vainly tries to believe this as to Mammæa. *Hist. des Emp.* iii. 279.

<sup>h</sup> Lampr. 29.

<sup>i</sup> Mosh. 465; Milman, ii. 230-1

secution and martyrdom, and it was probably under Alexander that the celebrated lawyer Ulpian, in his book 'On the duties of a Proconsul,' made an elaborate digest of the laws against the profession of the gospel.<sup>k</sup>

The estimable but somewhat weak Alexander was murdered in 235; and the Christians suffered at the hands of his successor, Maximin the Thracian, for the favour which they had lately enjoyed. The barbarian emperor's motives for persecution were wholly independent of religion; for of that, in any form, he was utterly regardless—melting down for his own use the gold and silver ornaments of heathen temples, and even the images of the gods. His rage was directed against such Christians only as had been connected with the court, among whom Origen was especially noted. But about the same time earthquakes in several provinces afforded a pretext for popular risings; and in these tumultuary outbreaks churches were burnt and many Christians were put to death.<sup>m</sup>

The reign of Gordian (A.D. 238-244) and that of Philip the Arabian (A.D. 244-249) were friendly to the church. Origen, writing under the latter, says that God had given the Christians the free exercise of their religion, and anticipates the conversion of the empire;<sup>n</sup>—a new idea, remarkably opposed to the tone of the earlier Christian writers, who had always regarded the Roman power as incurably hostile and persecuting,—as an oppression from which there could be no hope of deliverance except through the coming of the end.<sup>o</sup> Under Philip, Rome completed the thousandth year from its foundation; and it has been dwelt on by many writers as a remarkable circumstance, that this event took place under an emperor whom they suppose to have

<sup>k</sup> Lactant. Div. Instit. v. 11.  
Gieseler places Ulpian's digest under  
Caracalla. I. i. 258.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. vi. 28; Baron. 237. 4-7;

Tillem. Emp. iii. 271, 281; Gibbon, i.  
122-3, 571.

<sup>n</sup> Adv. Cels. vii. 26; viii. 68.

<sup>o</sup> Neand. i. 179.

been a Christian.<sup>p</sup> The games and rites with which it was celebrated, however, were purely heathen in character; and, although it seems to be true that both Philip and his wife received letters from the great Christian teacher Origen,<sup>q</sup> there is little reason for supposing that the emperor's guilty life was combined with a belief in the gospel.<sup>r</sup> Towards the end of the reign there was a persecution at Alexandria.<sup>s</sup>

Decius is memorable as the first emperor who attempted to extirpate the Christian religion by a general A.D. 249-  
persecution of its professors.<sup>t</sup> His edicts are 251.  
lost; but the records of the time exhibit a departure from the system which had been usually observed by enemies of the church since the days of Trajan. The authorities now sought out Christians; the legal order as to accusations was neglected; accusers ran no risk; and popular clamour was admitted instead of formal information.<sup>u</sup>

The long enjoyment of peace had told unfavourably on the church. Cyprian in the west and Origen in the east

<sup>p</sup> *E.g.* Euseb. Chron. (Patrol. xxvii. 645); Orosius, vii. 20 (ib. xxxi.).

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. vi. 36.

<sup>r</sup> See Huet, 'Origeniana,' I. iii. 12, (ap. Orig. t. iv.) The story of Philip's having been excluded from the paschal solemnities by Babylas, bishop of Antioch, until he had submitted to penance for his sins (Chron. Paschal., A.D. 253), is for the most part rejected by recent writers. Eusebius mentions it only as a current tradition, and does not name the bishop (vi. 34); while St. Chrysostom (Hom. ii. de S. Bab. t. ii. p. 545) names the bishop, but not the emperor, who, according to others, was Numerian (Acta SS., Jan. 24, pp. 185, 187, 190). See Pagi, iii. 588-9; Bayle, art. *Babylas*, note C.; Muratori Annali, A.D. 245; Schröckh, iv. 13; Burton, ii. 215; Neand. i. 176; Clinton, ii. 51-3. But Tillemont (Emp. iii. 300-3,

401-2) is doubtful, and Mosheim (476) takes the opposite side; while Niebuhr (Lectures, ed. Schmitz, iii. 320-1) does not altogether reject the idea of Philip's having been a Christian, or even the account of his penance, but suggests that he may have been a catechumen until just before his death, and may then have been baptized.

<sup>s</sup> From a misunderstanding of Dionysius (ap. Euseb. vi. 41), it has been said that this persecution was instigated by a "poet and soothsayer." But Bishop Pearson points out that the words *μάντις καὶ ποιητὴς* are to be connected with *κακῶν*, and mean "malorum vates et auctor." *Annales Cyprianici*, p. 11, in Fell's Cyprian, Oxf. 1683.

<sup>t</sup> Mosh. 478; Rettberg's 'Cyprianus,' Götting. 1831, p. 7.

<sup>u</sup> Mosh. 481.

speak of the secular spirit which had crept in among its members—of the pride, the luxury, the covetousness of the higher clergy; of the careless and irreligious lives of the people.<sup>x</sup> And when, as Origen had foretold, a new season of trial came, the effects of the general relaxation were sadly displayed. On being summoned, in obedience to the emperor's edict, to appear and offer sacrifice, multitudes of Christians in every city rushed to the forum—some induced by fear of confiscation, some by a wish to retain offices in the public service, some by dread of tortures, some by the entreaties of friends and kindred: it seemed, says St. Cyprian, as if they had long been eager to find an opportunity for disowning their faith.<sup>y</sup> The persecution was especially directed against the bishops and clergy. Among its victims were Fabian of Rome, Babylas of Antioch, and Alexander of Jerusalem; while in the lives of other eminent men (as Cyprian, Origen, Gregory Thaumaturgus, and Dionysius of Alexandria) the period is marked by exile or other sufferings.<sup>z</sup> The chief object, however, was not to inflict death on the Christians, but to force them to recantation. With this view they were subjected to tortures, imprisonment, and want of food; and under such trials the constancy of many gave way.<sup>a</sup> Many withdrew into voluntary banishment; among these was Paul, a young man of Alexandria, who took up his abode in the desert of the Thebaid, and is celebrated as the first Christian hermit.<sup>b</sup> The violence of the persecution did not last above a year; for in the end of 251 Decius was killed in battle with the Goths,<sup>c</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Cypr. de Lapsis, 5-6; Orig. in Josu., Hom. vii. 6; in Matth. Hom. x. 2; adv. Cels. viii. 44.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. vi. 41; Cypr. de Lapsis, 8; Tillem. iii. 314-8.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. vi. 39; Baron. 253.

<sup>a</sup> Cypr. Ep. vii. 1; Tillem. iii. 312; Mosh. §81.

<sup>b</sup> Hieron. Vita Pauli, 1, 4. (Patrol. xxiii.) It is, however, questioned whether Paul was the first to introduce among Christians that idea of a solitary and contemplative life which had been common in other religions. Mosh. 669.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, i. 264.



and the short reign of Gallus passed away without injury to the Christians, except that in some provinces they suffered from the outrages of the populace, who charged them with having caused a plague which for fifteen years afflicted the empire.<sup>d</sup> A.D. 251-3.

Valerian, the successor of Gallus, is described by Dionysius of Alexandria as having for a time been more favourable to the church than even those among his predecessors who had been reputed Christians—words which are supposed to designate Alexander, and either Philip or Mammæa.<sup>e</sup> But in his fifth year the emperor changed his policy, at the instigation of Macrianus, his chief adviser, who is said to have been connected with Egyptian magicians.<sup>f</sup> At first it was thought that the gospel might be suppressed by removing the teachers of the church, and forbidding its members to hold assemblies for worship, or to resort to the cemeteries.<sup>g</sup> Finding, however, that these measures had no decided effect, Valerian issued a second edict, by which it was ordered that the clergy should be put to death; that senators and knights should be deprived of their dignities and property, and, if they persisted in the faith, should be capitally punished; that women of rank should suffer confiscation of property and be sent into banishment.<sup>h</sup> A.D. 258. But even this edict did not enact any penalty against persons of inferior condition, so that the great mass of Christians would seem to have been unmolested by its operation. Valerian's attempt to check the progress of the gospel was utterly ineffectual. The church had been purified and strengthened by her late calamities, so that there were now few instances of

<sup>d</sup> Pearson, *Annal. Cyprian.* A.D. 252. x. ; Tillem. *Emp.* iii. 385 ; Pagi, iii. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Dion. ap. Euseb. vii. 10. See Clinton, ii. 51.

<sup>f</sup> Dion. l. c. ; Mosh. 552 ; Gibbon, i. 572.

<sup>g</sup> *Acta Proconsul. S. Cypriani*, c. 1 (Patrol. iii. 1500) ; Mosh. 551-3.

<sup>h</sup> Cypr. Ep. 80.

apostasy such as those which had been so common under Decius. The faith and patience of the martyrs animated their surviving brethren, and impressed many of the heathen; bishops, when driven from their flocks, were followed by multitudes of believers; and in the places of their exile they found opportunities for spreading the doctrine of Christ among people to whom it was before unknown.<sup>i</sup>

Dionysius applies to Valerian the Apocalyptic description of the beast to whom was given "a mouth speaking great things and blasphemies," with "power to continue forty and two months."<sup>k</sup> After having lasted three years

and a half, the persecution was ended by the capture and death of the emperor in Persia—  
A.D. 260. a calamity and disgrace without example in the Roman annals. Among the martyrs under Valerian were Xystus, bishop of Rome, with his deacon, Laurence; and Cyprian, bishop of Carthage.

Of the eminent men of this period, those who most especially claim our notice are Origen, Dionysius of Alexandria, and Cyprian.

I. Origen was born at Alexandria about the year 185, and from his childhood was carefully trained, both in literature and in religion, by his father, Leonides, who was a Christian, and by profession a teacher of rhetoric.<sup>1</sup> He daily learnt by heart a portion of the Scriptures, and thus laid the foundation of his extraordinary biblical knowledge, and also of that reverence for the sacred writings

<sup>i</sup> Mosh. 556; Schröckh, iv. 233.

<sup>k</sup> (Rev. xiii. 5); Dion. ap. Euseb. vii. 10.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. vi. 2; Clinton, A.D. 185; Redepenning's 'Origenes,' Bonn, 1846, i. 44. From the name *Origen*—*Son of Or*, or *Horus*—it has been inferred

that Leonides was not converted until after the birth of his son. But innumerable instances prove that the early Christians did not proscribe names derived from those of heathen deities. Huët, 'Origeniana,' I. i. 2, Redep. i. 45.

which controlled him in all the wanderings of his speculations. The tendency of his mind was early shown by the questions which he put to his father as to the meaning of Scripture—endeavouring to discover a sense beyond that which lay on the surface. Leonides, although himself no enemy to the deeper system of interpretation, discouraged such inquiries as unsuitable to his son's years ; but his heart was filled with joy and thankfulness on account of the rare gifts which appeared in the boy.<sup>m</sup> While his father was yet alive, Origen studied at the catechetical school, under the mastership of Clement, and there formed a friendship with Alexander, afterwards bishop of Jerusalem, which had an important influence on his later career.<sup>n</sup>

The persecution of Severus was especially violent at Alexandria, and Leonides was one of the victims. Origen was eager for martyrdom, and was saved only through the care of his mother, who, after having vainly endeavoured to dissuade him from exposing himself to danger, compelled him to remain at home by hiding his clothes. Being thus prevented from sharing his father's sufferings, the youth displayed his zeal by a fervent letter to Leonides while in prison, exhorting him not to be shaken in his constancy by a regard for those whom he was to leave behind him.<sup>o</sup> As the death of Leonides was accompanied by the seizure of his property, the widow with her seven children fell into deep distress. Origen, who was the eldest of the seven, was compassionately received into the house of a wealthy Christian lady ; but in this asylum he was annoyed by the presence of a gnostic teacher, Paul of Antioch, whom his benefactress had adopted and intended to make her heir. The eloquence

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. vi. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Ibid. 6, 14 ; Redep. i. 55-6, 434-6.

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. vi. 2. In maturer years

Origen saw the error of the zeal which would needlessly court danger. In Matth. xvi. 1.

of Paul was such as even to attract many of the orthodox to his teaching; but Origen, although he could not altogether avoid intercourse with him, steadily refused to attend any of his lectures.<sup>p</sup>

The catechetical school had been broken up by the persecution. Clement, as we have seen,<sup>q</sup> had left Alexandria—not out of any unworthy regard for his personal safety, but in compliance with his view of Christian duty.<sup>r</sup> In these circumstances, Origen, whose extraordinary abilities and precocious learning were already noted, received applications from some educated heathens who wished to be instructed in Christian doctrine; and having thus, at the age of eighteen, found himself drawn into assuming the office of a public teacher, he was soon after formally appointed by the bishop, Demetrius, to the mastership of the catechetical school. Among his earliest pupils were two brothers, Heraclas, eventually bishop of Alexandria, and Plutarch.<sup>s</sup> The persecution was renewed with increased violence on the arrival of a new governor, and Plutarch and others of Origen's scholars were martyred. Their master stood by them to encourage them in their sufferings; nor did he himself escape without having been severely treated by the populace.<sup>t</sup>

Wishing to be exempt from the necessity of taking any payment for his lessons, in obedience (as he supposed) to the text, “Freely ye have received, freely give,” Origen sold a valuable collection of manuscripts<sup>u</sup> for an allowance of four oboli a-day, and on this scanty income he contrived to live. He endeavoured to realize to the letter the gospel precepts of poverty. He had but one coat, which

<sup>p</sup> Euseb. vi. 2.

<sup>q</sup> P. 124.

<sup>r</sup> See Clem. Strom. vii. 1<sup>r</sup> p. 377.

<sup>s</sup> Euseb. vi. 3.

<sup>t</sup> Ibid. 3.

<sup>u</sup> ὅσαπερ ἦν αὐτῷ λόγων ἀρχαίων πρότερον συγγράμματα φιλοκάλως ἐσπουδασμένα. These seem to have been heathen writings. See Valois' note on Euseb. vi. 3.

was too thin to protect him against the cold of winter; he walked barefoot; he contented himself with such food as was absolutely necessary, abstaining from flesh and wine; he spent the greater part of the night in study; and when he slept, it was on the bare floor. By these austerities were sown the seeds of ailments which afflicted him throughout his life.<sup>v</sup>

Among those who resorted to his lectures were many young women. The intercourse with such pupils exposed him both to temptations and to the risk of slander; and from a wish to avoid these evils he acted literally on our Lord's words, that some "have made themselves eunuchs for the kingdom of heaven's sake." Although he endeavoured to conceal the act, it came to the knowledge of Demetrius; and the bishop, at the time, far from showing any disapproval of it, commended his zeal, and encouraged him to continue his labours in the catechetical school.<sup>x</sup> His fame as a teacher increased. In addition to his theological instructions, he lectured in "grammar"—a term which then included most of the branches of general literature; his school was frequented by Jews, heathens, and gnostics, and many of these were led through the pursuit of secular learning to embrace the faith of the gospel.<sup>y</sup> The requirements of his position induced him to seek after a fuller acquaintance with heathen philosophy than that which he had gained from Clement; and for this purpose he became a hearer of Ammonius Saccas.<sup>z</sup> It has been inferred, from the circumstances which have been mentioned as to Origen's conduct in early life, that he was then addicted to an extremely literal interpretation of the Scriptures—a system very opposite to that which he pursued in maturer years; and the supposed change

<sup>v</sup> Euseb. vi. 3; Redep. i. 196-202

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. vi. 8; Huet, l. i. 13.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. vi. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. 19. Tillemont (iii. 517) places this after Origen's visit to Rome; Clinton, in 206.

has been ascribed to the influence of Ammonius. But the truth would rather appear to be, that both in his earlier and in his later phases he was animated by the same spirit. The actions which his judgment afterwards condemned as carnal were prompted by a desire to emancipate himself from the flesh; and that which he really derived from Ammonius was not a reversal of his former principles, but a development and enlargement of his views.<sup>a</sup>

The peace which the Christians enjoyed during the reign of Caracalla induced Origen to visit A.D. 211. Rome where the church was then under the government of Zephyrinus.<sup>b</sup> After a short stay in the imperial city he returned to Alexandria, and resumed his catechetical office, devolving the instruction of the less advanced students on Heraclas, while he reserved his own labours for those who were to be led into the full depths of his system of interpretation.<sup>c</sup> It appears to have been about this time that he entered on the study of Hebrew—a language then commonly neglected by the learned men of the Alexandrian school,<sup>d</sup> but attractive to Origen, not only as being generally useful towards the understanding of the Old Testament, but especially on account of the mysteries involved in scriptural names.<sup>e</sup>

A massacre which took place at Alexandria under Caracalla, although unconnected with any question of religion, drove Origen for a time from the city. He visited the Holy Land, where he was received with honour by his old fellow-student, Alexander, bishop A.D. 215.

<sup>a</sup> Redep. i. 213-18, 231, 457-8.

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. vi. 14; Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 54. It is to this visit that the composition of the 'Philosophumena' was referred by the first editor, M. Miller. See pp. 118, 120.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. vi. 15.

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 54.

<sup>e</sup> Orig. in Joann. t. vi. 24; Redep. i. 366. Philo had written on the Hebrew names of the Old Testament, and Origen performed a like labour for the New Testament.



of Jerusalem, and by Theoctistus, bishop of Cæsarea; and, although a layman, he was desired by them to preach in their churches. On hearing of this, Demetrius of Alexandria remonstrated, but Theoctistus and Alexander justified themselves by precedents which showed that laymen had been permitted to preach in the presence of bishops, and with their sanction. Demetrius, however, was offended; he summoned Origen to return to his duties in the catechetical school, and the deacons who conveyed the letter were charged to conduct him back.<sup>f</sup>

Among Origen's chief friends and admirers was a man of fortune named Ambrose, who had been converted by him from some form of gnostic heresy, and afterwards became a deacon. Ambrose urged his teacher to engage in the illustration of Scripture, and supplied him with the funds necessary for forming a collection of manuscripts, and employing a large body of amanuenses and transcribers.<sup>g</sup> Among the results of this munificence were the first regular commentaries on the sacred books (for the earlier expositions had been confined to particular texts or sections);<sup>h</sup> and besides these, a work which entitles Origen to rank as the father of biblical criticism. The original object of this great undertaking was controversial,—to ascertain the true text of the Septuagint, and to vindicate that version against the Jews, who, since the adoption and general use of it by Christians, had made it their policy to disparage it as inferior to later translations. For this purpose Origen exhibited in parallel columns,—(1) the original Hebrew text; (2) the same in Greek letters; (3) the version by Aquila; (4) the version of Symmachus; (5) the Septuagint, edited from an elaborate collection of MSS.; and (6) the version of Theodotion. From its six columns the whole work was called *Hexapla*,

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. vi. 19; Mosh. 673. For the Alexandrian massacre, see Gibbon, i. 144.

<sup>g</sup> Euseb. vi. 23.

<sup>h</sup> Redep. i. 379.

and, from the addition of two imperfect versions in certain parts, it had also the name of *Octapla*. This gigantic labour appears to have been begun at Alexandria; it extended over eight-and-twenty years, and was completed only a short time before Origen's death.<sup>i</sup> The original manuscript, which was preserved at Cæsarea, is supposed to have perished at the destruction of the Cæsarean library by the Arabs, in the year 653. It had never been transcribed as a whole; but separate copies of the various columns had been made, and that of the Septuagint became a standard text of that version.<sup>k</sup>

In consequence of the reputation which Origen had attained, applications for instruction and advice were made to him from distant quarters. Thus, before his first visit to Palestine, he had been invited by a person of authority in Arabia<sup>l</sup>—most probably a Roman governor, although some writers suppose him to have been the head of a native tribe—to teach his people the Christian faith, and had complied with the invitation. At a later time Mammæa, the mother of Alexander Severus, summoned him to Antioch, and conferred with him on religious subjects.<sup>m</sup> In like manner he was requested, in the year 228, to visit Greece, for the confutation of some heresies which were disturbing the church of that country.<sup>n</sup> He set out, bearing with him letters of commendation from his bishop, according to the practice of the time, and took his way through Palestine, where, at the

<sup>i</sup> Orig. Ep. ad African. 4-5 (t. i. 16-17); Epiphani. lxiv. 3; Huet, III. li. 4; Redep. i. 374; ii. 158; Giesel. vi. 61-2.

<sup>k</sup> Redep. ii. 177.

<sup>l</sup> παρὰ τοῦ τῆς Ἀραβίας ἡγουμένου. Euseb. vi. 19. Mosheim (448) supposes him an Arab. See Neand. i. 112; Redep. i. 370; Clinton, A. D. 215.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. v. 21. By some writers the date is placed in 217 or 218; by others, after Alexander's accession to the empire, about 223. See Pagi, ii. 293; Tillem. iii. 523-4, 763; Schröckh, iv. 32; Burton, ii. 272. 282; Redep. i. 372. Mr. Clinton's date is 226.

<sup>n</sup> Redep. i. 406-8; Clinton, A. D. 223.

age of forty-three, he was ordained presbyter by his friends Theoctistus and Alexander. In explanation of this it has been supposed that the bishops wished him to address their flocks, as on his former visit; that Origen reminded them of the objections then made by Demetrius; that, by way of guarding against further complaints, they offered to ordain him; and that he accepted the offer, in the belief that Demetrius, although determined not to raise him to the presbyterate like his predecessors Pantænus and Clement, would allow him to rank among the Alexandrian presbyters, if the order were conferred on him elsewhere by bishops of eminent station and character.<sup>o</sup> After having successfully accomplished his business in Greece, Origen returned to Alexandria in 230; but in the meantime his ordination had given rise to much dispute. Demetrius, on being informed of it, vehemently expostulated with Alexander and Theoctistus, apprising them of the rash act of Origen's youthful zeal, which, by one of the canons which claim the title of Apostolical,<sup>p</sup> is pronounced a bar to ordination. This information was new to the bishops; for Origen had said nothing of the impediment. If the canon existed at so early a time, it is yet possible that he may have been unacquainted with it; or he may have reasonably supposed himself to be exempt from its operation, since the object of it unquestionably was to check the fanatical spirit which prompted such acts, whereas he had long passed through the stage at which he had anything in common with that spirit.<sup>q</sup> But, although the proceed-

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. vi. 23; Mosh. 674-5; Tillem. iii. 526; Redep. i. 406-8. That the presbyterate, and even the episcopate, were then sometimes given to persons who had not passed through the lower grades, see Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. 73-4.

<sup>p</sup> Can. Apostol. 21 (Hard. i. 13).

See Beveridge, Cod. Can. II. iv. 2, v. Drey, 266-9; Hefele, i. 360. The first Nicene canon was afterwards directed against such practices.

<sup>q</sup> Tillem. iii. 506, 526-7; Mosh. 674; Neand. ii. 470; Redep. i. 452. In his commentary on St. Matthew (t. xv. 1-5) Origen treats the literal in-

ings of Demetrius have been attributed by St. Jerome to envy of Origen's genius and fame,<sup>r</sup> and although his conduct was certainly marked by an unjustifiable violence and harshness, it is not impossible that he may have acted from sincerely conscientious motives.<sup>s</sup> He had been glad to retain Origen's services as a teacher, but refused to acknowledge him as a presbyter.

In addition to the irregularity of his ordination, Origen had given offence by some of his speculations. Finding his position at Alexandria uneasy, he withdrew to Cæsarea,<sup>t</sup> and after his departure Demetrius assembled two synods, by which Origen was deprived of his office

in the catechetical school, his orders were annulled, and he was excommunicated as a heretic.<sup>u</sup> The result of these synods was made generally known to the bishops of other countries. By the rules of catholic communion, the decisions of one church in such matters were usually received by the rest, without inquiry into the merits of the case: and thus the sentence against Origen was ratified at Rome and elsewhere, while it was disregarded in those countries which had especially felt his personal influence,—in Palestine, Phœnicia, Arabia,

terpretation on which he had acted as an instance of the errors which would follow from an adherence to the letter of Scripture in some parts. Cf. Cont. Celsum, vii. 48.

<sup>r</sup> Hieron. de Viris Illustr. c. 54.

<sup>s</sup> Archd. Evans takes the side of Demetrius. ii. 44-7.

<sup>t</sup> Walch, vii. 396-7. Eusebius gives no warrant for the statement of Tillemont (iii. 534), Mosheim (677), and others, that his withdrawal was secret. (Redep. i. 411.) The story told by Epiphanius (lxiv. 2) of his having been obliged to withdraw in consequence of having offered incense to idols, is generally rejected—although Razi (A.D. 253. 6), Pétau (Animadv.

in Epiphan. p. 258), Alexandre Noël (vi. 257, seqq.), and Huet (I. ii. 13), maintain it. See Tillem. iii. 534, 766; Dupin, i. 146; Mosh. 610; Schröckh, iv. 35; Burton, ii. 298; Redep. i. 411.

<sup>u</sup> Photius, 'Bibliotheca,' Cod. 118 (on the authority of Pamphilus); Tillem. iii. 534; Mosh. 680; Neand. ii. 471-2; Giesel. I. i. 314. Although it must be incorrect to say, with Pamphilus, that Origen was *banished* from Alexandria, inasmuch as the church had no power of inflicting that penalty, it was yet, for a person of his character, involved in exclusion from communion. Mosh. 678-80; Neand. ii. 471; Redep. i. 411.

and Achaia.\* Demetrius died soon after, and was succeeded in the see by Heraclas; but it is remarkable that no attempt was made by the new A.D. 233. bishop to rescind the condemnation of his former teacher and colleague.†

At Cæsarea, under the patronage of Theoctistus and Alexander, Origen found not only a refuge, but the opportunity for active and conspicuous labour. As there was no institution like the Alexandrian school, he took the position of an independent philosophical teacher, and his instructions were sought, not only by Christians, but by many heathens. Among these the most celebrated were two brothers, natives of Pontus, named Theodore and Athenodore, who, having been led to visit Palestine by family circumstances, became hearers of Origen in philosophy and literature, and were gradually guided by him to the Christian faith.‡ Both eventually became bishops. It is said that Theodore, who at his baptism had taken the name of Gregory, at entering on his diocese of Neocæsarea, in Pontus, found in it only seventeen Christians, and that at his death he left in it only seventeen heathens<sup>a</sup>—a statement which may be taken as expressing in an exaggerated form a really signal course of successful labour. He afterwards became the subject of many marvellous tales, from which he received the name of *Thaumaturgus*, or miracle-worker.<sup>b</sup>

After a residence of five or six years at Cæsarea, Origen was compelled by the persecution of Maximin to

\* Hieron. Ep. 33.

† Euseb. vi. 26. See Huet, I. ii. 15, and De la Rue's note; Redep. i. 413. According to a story preserved by Photius (in Fontani, 'Novæ Eru-ditorum Deliciæ,' i. 69-73, Florent. 1785), Origen was at Alexandria during the episcopate of Heraclas, but the unsoundness of his teaching obliged the bishop to eject him.

‡ Greg. Thaum. Panegyr. in Origen, 5, seqq. (Patrol. Gr. x.); Euseb. vi. 30; Tillem. iii. 536.

<sup>a</sup> Greg. Nyssen. Vit. Greg. Thaumaturg., Opera, t. ii. pp. 977, 1006, ed. Paris, 1615.

<sup>b</sup> Tillem. iv. 316, seqq.; Mosh. 603; Redep. ii. 13. See Newman on Miracles, 126-132.

take refuge at the Cappadocian city of the same name<sup>c</sup> under the protection of the bishop, Firmilian, who had been one of his pupils; and when the persecution reached Cappadocia, he was sheltered in the house of Juliana, a wealthy Christian virgin, where he discovered an important addition to his materials for the 'Hexapla'—his protectress having inherited the library of Symmachus, an Ebionite translator of the Old Testament.<sup>d</sup> On the death of Maximin he returned to Cæsarea in Palestine. It was probably after this<sup>e</sup> that he was invited to be present at a synod held in Arabia on account of Beryllus, bishop of Bostra, who, although seemingly unconnected with the schools of Praxeas and Noëtus, had arrived at a doctrine similar to theirs—that in the unity of the Godhead there is no distinction of Persons; that the Son had no personality before his incarnation. The synod condemned the doctrine, but could not convince Beryllus; Origen, however, succeeded in proving to him the unsoundness of his view, and received the thanks of both parties. On another occasion he was summoned to combat the opinion of an Arabian sect, which held that the soul as well as the body is dissolved at death, and will be restored to being at the resurrection.<sup>f</sup>

In the persecution under Decius, Origen lost his steadfast friend Alexander of Jerusalem. He was himself imprisoned and cruelly tortured; and the effect of this treatment on a frame worn out by age, study, and sick-

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. c. 54. There is, however, some doubt as to this. See Tillem. iii. 538, 770; Neand. ii. 476.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. vi. 17; Redep. ii. 14.

<sup>e</sup> Redepenning places the affair of Beryllus about 244 (ii. 79).

<sup>f</sup> Euseb. vi. 33; Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 60; Redep. ii. 91-101; Do-

ner, i. 551.

<sup>g</sup> So Eusebius states, vi. 37; see Mosheim, 718. Redepenning (ii. 105) points out the difficulties of such a theory, and supposes that Eusebius is mistaken—that these heretics were really *psychopannychites*, i.e. that they maintained the *sleep* of the soul



ness, hastened his death, which took place at Tyre about the year 255.<sup>h</sup>

The great object of this eminent teacher was to harmonize Christianity with philosophy. He sought to combine in a Christian scheme the fragmentary truths scattered throughout other systems; to establish the gospel in a form which should not present obstacles to the conversion of Jews, of Gnostics, and of cultivated heathens; and his errors arose from a too eager pursuit of this idea.<sup>i</sup>

Origen's principles of interpreting Scripture have been already mentioned by anticipation.<sup>k</sup> It was from him that the Alexandrian method received its completion. He distinguished in Scripture a threefold sense—the literal, the moral, and the mystical—answering respectively to the body, soul, and spirit in man.<sup>l</sup> As at the marriage of Cana some waterpots contained two firkins and some three, so (he taught) Scripture in “every jot and tittle” has the moral and the mystical senses, and in most parts it has the literal sense also.<sup>m</sup> The Holy Spirit, it was said, made use of the literal history where it was suitable for conveying the mystical sense; where this was not the case, He invented the story with a view to that purpose; and in the Law, while He laid down some things to be literally observed, other precepts were in their letter impossible or absurd. By this principle much of the letter of Scripture was rejected; but such

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. vi. 39; vii. 1. There is a story of his having lapsed in the persecution, which, although generally rejected, is believed by Pagi, ii. 603-9. His death is placed in 253 by Tillemont (iii. 548) and Clinton; in 254 by Neander (ii. 481) and Redepenning (ii. 266); in 256 by Pagi, iii. 38.

<sup>i</sup> Tillem. iii. 594; Mosh. 620, 635;

Tzschirner, 371-3; Dorner, i. 635; Pressensé, iii. 322-386. Cf. Orig. c. Cels. vi. 2.

<sup>k</sup> Pp. 126-8.

<sup>l</sup> De Principiis, iv. 11; in Levit. Hom. v. 5.

<sup>m</sup> De Princ. iv. 12, 20; in Exod. Hom. i. 4.

passages, both in the Old and in the New Testament, were, according to Origen, set by the Holy Spirit as stumbling-blocks in the way, that the discerning reader, by seeing the insufficiency of the letter, might be incited to seek after the understanding of the spiritual meaning.<sup>n</sup> Such portions of Scripture were not the less Divine for their "mean and despicable" form; it was the fault of human weakness if men would not penetrate through this veil to the treasure which was hidden below. As, therefore, Origen denounced the gnostic impiety of supposing the various parts of the Bible to have come from different sources, so he held it no less necessary to guard against the error of many Christians, who while they acknowledged the same God in the Old and in the New Testament, yet ascribed to Him actions unworthy of the most cruel and unjust of men.<sup>o</sup> It was (he said) through a carnal understanding of the letter that the Jews were led to crucify our Lord, and still to continue in their unbelief.<sup>p</sup> Those who would insist on the letter were like the Philistines who filled up with earth the wells which Abraham's servants had digged; the mystical interpreter was, like Isaac, to open the wells.<sup>q</sup> In justice to Origen, we must remember that the literal system of interpretation, as understood in his day, was something very different from the grammatical and historical exposition of modern times. It made no attempt to overcome difficulties or to harmonize seeming discrepancies; and when applied to the explanation of prophecy, it embarrassed the advocates of orthodox Christianity and gave

<sup>n</sup> De Princ. 15-18. Mr. Keble thinks that Origen has been misinterpreted in many places where he seems to deny the truth of the scriptural narrative. ('Tracts for the Times,' No. 89, pp. 60, seqq.) But if so, the charge against him is very little mitigated, since he wrote in a style which

would suggest to ordinary minds the idea of his rejecting the letter, and which is only to be rescued by such extremely ingenious constructions as those in the Tract.

<sup>o</sup> De Princ. 7-9.

<sup>p</sup> Mosh. 653-6; Redep. i 302-3.

<sup>q</sup> In Genes. Hom. xiii. 2.

great advantages to their opponents. To get rid of it was, therefore, desirable with a view to the controversies with the Jews and Montanists.<sup>r</sup>

Whereas (it was said) the heathen philosophers addressed themselves exclusively to the more educated, Holy Scripture condescends to persons of every kind, according to their capacities;<sup>s</sup> its narrative was "most wisely ordained," with a view both to the mass of simpler believers, and to the comparatively small number who should be desirous or able to inquire more deeply with understanding.<sup>t</sup> The letter, therefore, was allowed to be sufficient for the unlearned;<sup>u</sup> but, although in this opinion Origen resembled some of the Gnostic teachers, he was utterly opposed to their contempt for the less instructed brethren, and to their representation of whole classes of men as hopelessly shut out from the higher grades of understanding. Every one, he held, was bound to advance according to his means and opportunities. The literal sense might be understood by any attentive reader; the moral required higher intelligence; the mystical was to be apprehended only through the grace of the Holy Spirit, which was to be obtained by prayer; nor did Origen himself pretend to possess this grace in such a degree as would entitle him to claim any authority for his comments.<sup>v</sup> Whereas Clement had spoken with fear of divulging his mystical interpretations, and had given them as traditional,<sup>x</sup> Origen's are offered merely as the offspring of his own mind, and his only fear is lest they should be wrong.<sup>y</sup> Of the mystical sense, he

<sup>r</sup> Giesel. I. i. 331; Redep. i. 300. On the contrast between the plainness of moral teaching in the prophets and the obscurity of their predictions, see Orig. c. Celsum, vii. 10.

<sup>s</sup> Con. i. k. vii. 61.

<sup>t</sup> Ib. iv. 1.

<sup>u</sup> De Princ. iv. 12.

<sup>v</sup> C. Cels. vii. 11; De Princip. i. 14; in Levit. Hom. v. 5, p. 210.

<sup>x</sup> E.g. Stromata, I. i. p. 324; i. 12; vi. 7, p. 771.

<sup>y</sup> De Princip. i. 6, &c.; Mosh. 633, 639, 645-7, 650-1, 653; Neand. ii. 252-3, 262-3; Redep. i. 295, 302-3, 315-18, 336, 382.

held that there were two kinds—the *allegorical*, where the Old Testament prefigured the history of Christ and his church; and the *anagogical*, where the narrative typified the things of a higher world. For, as St. Paul speaks of a “Jerusalem which is above,”<sup>z</sup> Origen held the existence of a spiritual world in which everything of this earth has its antitype. And thus passages of Scripture, which in their letter he supposed to be fictitious, were to be regarded as shadowing forth realities of the higher world which earthly things could not sufficiently typify.<sup>a</sup>

These principles of exposition were not laid down without cautions and safeguards as to their application; and in Origen himself they were controlled by a faithful, devout, and dutiful spirit. But it is evident that they tend to no less an evil than the subversion of all belief in the historical truth of Scripture.<sup>b</sup>

There is a difficulty in ascertaining Origen’s opinions on many points—not only from the obscurity of the subjects which he treats, but also because his remaining writings are in great part preserved only in translations which are known to be unfaithful.<sup>c</sup> Even in his own lifetime he had to complain of falsifications by heretics, and of misrepresentation by indiscreet admirers,<sup>d</sup> while he was conscious that prejudiced readers might be likely to misapprehend him as heretical.<sup>e</sup> His soundness as to the highest of Christian doctrines had been much questioned; indeed, the Arians claimed him as a forerunner of their heresy.<sup>f</sup> But St. Athanasius spoke of him with respect, explained his language, and vindicated

<sup>z</sup> Galat. iv. 26.

<sup>a</sup> De Princ. iv. 20-2; c. Cels. iv. 21; Suicer, s. voc. *ἀναγωγή*; Mosh. 640-3; Redep. i. 290, 306-8, 313; ii. 343.

<sup>b</sup> Neand. ii. 264, 269. See Evans, ii. 39-47, 105, seqq

<sup>c</sup> Blunt on the Fathers, 108; see below, Book III. c. vii. sect. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Tom. i. pp. 5-6.

<sup>e</sup> De Princ. I. vi. 1.

<sup>f</sup> Epiphan. lxiv. 4. See Photius, Biblioth. Cod. 8.

him from misconstruction.<sup>g</sup> Bishop Bull, too, defends his orthodoxy; but even after the somewhat large postulate that he may be judged only by his treatise against Cel-sus<sup>h</sup>—as being the most matured offspring of his mind, and the only one of his works which is not probably corrupted—our great theologian finds much exercise for his learning and ingenuity in drawing forth a catholic sense from passages of questionable appearance.<sup>i</sup>

To Origen is due the invention of a term which, as happily expressing the traditional belief, has been adopted into the language of the church—the “eternal generation” of God the Son. He illustrated the mode of this by a comparison with the emission of brightness from light. It was not, he said, a thing which had taken place once for all, but is ever continued in the “everlasting now” of the Divine existence.<sup>k</sup>

His doctrines as to the creation were very singular. Rejecting the gnostic view, which supposed matter independent of God, he maintained that, as God is omnipotent and Lord, he must always have had something over which to exercise his power and dominion; and consequently that the work of creation from nothing must have been eternal.<sup>l</sup> The object of this theory was to reconcile the Mosaic narrative with the Platonic notion that the world had eternally emanated from God. There had (he taught) been multitudes of worlds before the

<sup>g</sup> De Decr. Nicænzæ Synodi, 27 (t. i. 23-3); Ep. iv. ad. Serap. 9 (ib. 702).

<sup>h</sup> This was composed at the instance of his friend Ambrose, during the reign of Philip, when the improved position of the Christians rendered it desirable that their cause should be maintained more fully and methodically than in the occasional Apologies of earlier writers. See the preface to the work; and above, p. 46.

<sup>i</sup> Bull, Def. Fid. Nic. lib. ii. c. 9.

See, as to Origen's opinions on the doctrines relating to the Godhead, Tillem. iii. 589; Mosh. 633; Burton's 'Antenice Testimonies to the Divinity of Christ,' ed. 2, pp. 281-3; Giesel. I. i. 324-6; vi. 141-5; Redep. ii. 44, Evans, ii. 90.

<sup>k</sup> De Princ. I. ii. 4, 7; Petav. de Trin. V. ix. 6-7; Dorner, i. 644-8; Redep. ii. 301.

<sup>l</sup> De Princ. I. ii. 10; Mosh. 613; Redep. ii. 292.

present, and there would yet be multitudes after its end<sup>m</sup>—the nearness of which he supposed to be indicated by the fact of our Lord's having already appeared in the flesh.<sup>n</sup> The number of souls originally created was final; there had been no additions to it, but the same souls continually reappeared in an endless variety of forms.<sup>o</sup> All were at first perfect, and were endued with freedom of will.<sup>p</sup> By abuse of this they contracted a guilt which required purgation; hence the worlds were created that the beings who had sinned might be awakened to a sense of their estrangement from God and to a craving after blessedness—that they might be purified through conflict for restoration to their first estate.<sup>q</sup> The disobedient souls were treated according to the measure of their offence. Those which had least sinned became angels, living in the planets, and occupied in works of ministry for men; the worst of all became devils;<sup>r</sup> while, for such as were confined in bodies of flesh, the whole complication of their being and circumstances was arranged in proportion as they had sinned more or less grievously. Some, however, were plunged deeper than the degree of their guilt had deserved, in order that they might help in the instruction and deliverance of their fellows;<sup>s</sup> and thus Origen supposes that the death of a righteous man may have a redeeming effect for others.<sup>t</sup> He divided mankind into carnal, psychical, and spiritual, but instead of supposing, like the Gnostics, that each man was immovably fixed in a parti-

<sup>m</sup> For this he cited Heb. ix. 26, ἐπὶ συντελείᾳ τῶν αἰώνων; also Isa. lxvi. 2; Eccles. i. 9. De Princ. iii. 5; III. v. 9.

<sup>n</sup> Ib. III. v. 6.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. II. ix. 1; Neand. ii. 284-5.

<sup>p</sup> De Princ. i. 5; iii. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. i. 6-7; II. ix. 8. He says that the reasonable soul (νοῦς) when cooled

down from the Divine warmth, becomes ψυχή, so styled from its ψυξίς (cooling); and this, when restored, will again become νοῦς. Ib. II. viii. 3.

<sup>r</sup> De Princ. I. vi. 2, 3; viii. 4; III. vi. 3; Huet, II. v.

<sup>s</sup> De Princ. II. ix. 7.

<sup>t</sup> Exhort. ad Martyr. 50 (t. i. p. 309); Mosh. 626-7.



cular class,<sup>u</sup> he maintained that all were originally alike, that the differences between them arose from the exercise of their free will, and that none were unchangeably good or bad. He allowed Adam to be a historical person—the first of the sinful spirits who was embodied in flesh; but, like Philo,<sup>x</sup> he regarded the history of the fall as an allegory.<sup>y</sup> One soul only there was which had not sinned. This, by continual contemplation of the Divine Logos, had adhered to him or been absorbed in him; and thus it had made the way for that union of Godhead with a material body which but for such a medium would have been impossible.<sup>z</sup> As the gospel was adapted to men of every kind, so Origen, in accordance (as he professed) with tradition, supposed that our Lord's appearance while on earth varied according to the characters of those who beheld him.<sup>a</sup>

Origen's views as to the mediatorial work of the Saviour are difficult to understand, and no less so to reconcile with orthodox belief. He considers the death on the cross as representing something which is spiritually repeated in the higher world, and which has its effect towards the deliverance of the angels.<sup>b</sup> He allows that, in order to become or to remain good, grace is necessary as well as free-will;<sup>c</sup> but he appears to have erred in allowing too much to the ordinary powers with which he supposed our nature to be endowed.<sup>d</sup>

All punishment, he holds, is merely corrective and remedial, being ordained in order that all creatures may be restored to their original perfection.<sup>e</sup> At the resurrec-

<sup>u</sup> De Princ. I. viii. 3; II. ix. 5-6.

<sup>x</sup> De Mundi Opif. t. i. 38, ed. Mangey. <sup>y</sup> De Princ. iv. 16.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. II. vi. 3-7; Dörner, i. 680.

<sup>a</sup> C. Cels. ii. 64; iv. 15-16. In Matth. xxxv. 100.

<sup>b</sup> De Princ. iv. 25. See Huet, II. iii. 20. seqq.; Evans, ii. 97.

<sup>c</sup> See De Princ. III. i. 19; Huet, II. vii. 10; De la Rue, n. on Huet, t. iv. Append. 192-5; Mosh. 626, 666; Neand. ii. 368, 386; Redep. ii. 400-3.

<sup>d</sup> Nat. Alex. vi. 287; Evans, ii. 99-100.

<sup>e</sup> De Princ. I. vi. : II. i.

tion all mankind will have to pass through a fire:<sup>f</sup> the purged spirits will enter into paradise, a place of training for the consummation;<sup>g</sup> the wicked will remain in the "fire," which, however, is not described as material, but as a mental and spiritual misery. The matter and food of it, he says, are our sins, which, when swollen to the height, are inflamed to become our punishment; and the "outer darkness" is the darkness of ignorance.<sup>h</sup> But the condition of these spirits is not without hope, although thousands of years may elapse before their suffering shall have wrought its due effect on them.<sup>i</sup> On the other hand, those who are admitted into paradise may abuse their free-will, as in the beginning, and may consequently be doomed to a renewal of their sojourn in the flesh.<sup>k</sup> Every reasonable creature—even Satan himself—may be turned from evil to good, so as not to be excluded from salvation.<sup>l</sup> At the final consummation the soul will dwell in a glorified organ, of which the germ is in the present body.<sup>m</sup> Its pleasures will be purely spiritual; the saints

<sup>f</sup> Ib. II. ix. 6; in Exod. Hom. II. vi. 4; in Luc. Hom. xiv. p. 948; Huet, II. ii. 11. 1.

<sup>g</sup> De Princ. II. xi. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. II. x. 4. 18; c. Cels. v. 15, seqq.; Blunt on the Fathers, 129.

<sup>i</sup> De Princ. I. vi. 3. He held that *αἰών* meant a limited time, and that, consequently, *αἰῶνες τῶν αἰώνων* must be finite. See Huet, II. ii. 11. 26.

<sup>k</sup> De Princ. II. iii. 3; III. vi. 3 (in Jerome's version).

<sup>l</sup> It has often been said that Origen maintained the salvation of the devil, and it appears to be involved in the consistency of his system (Neand. i. 472). But all that he seems really to have asserted was, that Satan *might* turn and be saved, while at the same time he held that, from his rooted wickedness, he *would* not turn. (De Princ. I. vi. 3; in Rom. I. viii. 9;

Huet, II. v. 12.) In his letter to Alexander (t. i. p. 9) he declares the opinion imputed to him to be something which not even a madman could uphold. He was anxious to keep some of his doctrines from the vulgar, *e.g.* that of the non-eternity of punishment (c. Cels. iii. 79; viii. 52); and for this purpose he sanctioned equivocation, or even falsehood. (Hieron. c. Rufin. i. 18; Giesel. I. i. 320; Redep. ii. 317.) See, however, his answer to the charge brought by Celsus against Christian teachers, that they deceived the vulgar with false exoteric doctrines. iv. 10.

<sup>m</sup> De Princ. II. ii.; ix. 3; xii.; III. vi. 4-6; c. Cels. v. 15, seqq. Origen's doctrine of a spiritual body, founded on St. Paul's illustration of the seed and the plant (I Cor. xv.) was misunderstood and censured by some, as if he denied the resurrection. See Hie

will understand all the mysteries of the Divine providence and of the ordinances given by God to Israel.<sup>n</sup> Love, which “never faileth,” will preserve the whole creation from the possibility of any further fall; and “God will be all in all.”<sup>o</sup>

The reputation of Origen has had vehement assailants and no less zealous defenders.<sup>p</sup> Certain propositions ascribed to him were condemned, and an anathema was attached to his name, by a synod held at Constantinople in the sixth century;<sup>q</sup> and it may perhaps be thought that the mischief of any particular errors in doctrine is far exceeded by that of the perverse method of interpreting Scripture which owed to him its completeness and much of its popularity. But, with whatever abatements on the ground of his errors—however strong may be our sense of the evil which his system produced, or was fitted to produce, in the hands of others—we must think of Origen himself as a man who not only devoted all the energies of his mind during a long life to what he conceived to be the truth, but believed his views of truth to be consistent with the traditional faith of the church. His peculiar opinions arose (as has been already said) from a wish to overcome the supposed incompatibility of philosophy with the gospel; he desired in all things to hold fast the foundation of essential Christian doctrine; he proposed his own speculations with modesty, and claimed for them no higher character than that of probable conjectures.<sup>r</sup>

ron. c. Joann. Hierosol. 25 seqq. : Huet, II. ii. 9; Evans, ii. 110.

<sup>n</sup> De Princ. II. xi. 5. 7.

<sup>o</sup> In Rom. v. 10 (t. iv. p. 568); De Princ. III. vi. 1-3.

<sup>p</sup> See Bull. Def. Fid. Nic. II. i. 1; Huet, II. iii.; IV. i. 4-6; Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vii. 203. In the ‘Pratum Spirituale’ of Moschus, c. 26 (Patrol. Gr. lxxxvii.; Lat. lxxiv.) Origen is represented as tormented in fire, with

Arius, Nestorius, Eutyches, and other heretics and blasphemers.

<sup>q</sup> A local synod, in 543 or 544, not (as was long believed) the fifth General Council, A.D. 553. Giesel. I. ii. 368, 372; Neand. iv. 481-2; Hefele, ii. 768. See below, Book III. c. vi.

<sup>r</sup> Mosh. 607, 628-9; Dorner, i. 637 Redep. ii. 115.

His piety is as unquestioned as the greatness of his genius and the depth of his learning ; he suffered much for the gospel, and may, indeed, almost be reckoned as a martyr. While he lived he was the chief opponent of heresy in all its varieties ; the multitude of converts whom he brought over to the church from heathenism, Judaism, and corrupted forms of Christianity, is a noble testimony to his earnestness and love no less than to his controversial ability. We may, therefore, well say with the candid Tillemont,<sup>s</sup> that, although such a man might hold heretical opinions, he could not be a heretic, since he was utterly free from that spirit which constitutes the guilt of heresy.

II. Among the most distinguished of Origen's pupils was Dionysius, who succeeded Heraclas, first in the catechetical school (A.D. 232), and afterwards in the see of Alexandria (A.D. 248). This eminent man, after having been brought up as a heathen, was led to embrace Christianity by a perusal of St. Paul's epistles. As he continued after his ordination to read the works of heathens and heretics, a presbyter remonstrated with him on the dangerous nature of such studies, and Dionysius was impressed by the remonstrance ; but he was reassured by a vision or dream, in which he heard a voice saying to him, " Read whatsoever may fall into thy hands ; for thou art able to read with discernment, and to reject what is worthless, since even thus it was that thou wert first brought to the faith."<sup>t</sup>

Dionysius was not more admirable for his learning than for his wisdom and moderation. His name will

<sup>s</sup> iii. 495-8, 595 ; comp. Newman on Arianism, 108-110.

<sup>t</sup> Dion. Alex. ap. Euseb. vii. 7. The reading of heathen books is forbidden

in the Apostolical Constitutions, i. 6. See Cotelier's note ; also Cassian, Col. lat. xiv. 12, and the note.

repeatedly come before us in connexion with the affairs of the church; but two controversies in which he took part may be here particularly mentioned.

(1.) About the year 257, the Libyan Pentapolis, the native country of Sabellius, was greatly disturbed by his heresy,<sup>u</sup> and the matter came under the official notice of the Egyptian primate. Dionysius combated the Sabellian errors both in conference and by writing;<sup>x</sup> but unhappily he used some expressions which gave a pretext for charging him with opinions resembling those afterwards broached by Arius, as if he had denied the eternal Sonship. His language was reported to the bishop of Rome as heretical—not that any jurisdiction over Alexandria was supposed to belong to Rome, but because the matter was one of common concern; because, in proportion to the eminence of a bishop's see, it was his duty to investigate and to act in such cases; and because the first of bishops was the person to whom complaints against the second were most naturally carried.<sup>y</sup> On this the bishop of Rome, who was also named Dionysius, held a council, and requested an explanation; and Dionysius of Alexandria, disregarding for the sake of peace and unity all that might have excited his jealousy in such an interference, replied by a satisfactory vindication of his orthodoxy.<sup>z</sup>

<sup>u</sup> This has been usually regarded as the first outbreak of Sabellianism; and it has in consequence been supposed that Novatian's work '*De Trinitate*,' which mentions Sabellius (c. 12), must have been written after its author had left the church. But Lumper argues (ap. Migne, *Patrol.* iii. 872-3) that the circumstance which occurred in 257 was a movement of Sabellius' followers, and places the heresiarch himself under Alexander Severus—a view for which he mentions other authorities. We have seen (p. 119)

that a still earlier date ought to be given for the rise of the heresy.

<sup>x</sup> Athanas. *de Sententia Dionysii*, 5, 9.

<sup>y</sup> See Schröckh, iv. 174; Routh, *Rel. Sac.* iii. 380.

<sup>z</sup> Dion. Alex. ap. Athan. *de Decr. Syn. Nic.* c. 25; Dion. Rom. *ib.* 26; Ath. *de Sent. Dion.* 13, seqq.; Tillem. iv. 279-283; Dorner, i. 742-4, 748-752. See Bp. Bull. *Def. Fid. Nic.* ii. 11, who remarks (§ 7) that the excitement raised by the mere suspicion of what would afterwards have been styled Arianiz-

(2.) The doctrine of Chiliasm or Millennarianism is styled in the first Articles of the reformed English church "a Jewish dotage;"<sup>a</sup> but, although no doubt derived from Judaism, it must not be considered as indicative of a Jewish tendency. There was, indeed, in common with Judaism, the belief that the Messiah would reign personally on earth, that his kingdom would have Jerusalem for its seat, and that it would last a thousand years; but (besides other important differences,—as that the Jewish millennium was expected to follow immediately on the Messiah's first appearance, whereas the Christians looked to his second coming) the Christian chiliasm showed no favour to the fleshly Israel, nor even to its holy city; for the new Jerusalem was to come down from heaven, and to take the place of the earthly, which was to perish.<sup>b</sup>

The chiliastic opinions were very early professed. Among their advocates is said to have been Papias, bishop of Hierapolis, who is commonly described as a hearer of the apostle St. John;<sup>c</sup> and by the end of the second century they appear to have become general in the church,<sup>d</sup> recommended as they were by their offering a ground of opposition to pagan Rome, and affording a near consolation to the faithful in persecutions and trials.<sup>e</sup> The doctrine was embraced by the Montanists with great ardour; but the very circumstance that it became a characteristic of this enthusiastic sect tended

ing proves how alien Arian doctrines were from the mind of the age in which Dionysius lived.

<sup>a</sup> Articles of Edw. VI. No. xli.

<sup>b</sup> Dorner, i. 241. See Orig. de Princ. II. xi. 2; c. Cels. iv. 22; Semisch, in Herzog, art. *Chiliasmus*.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. iii. 39. It has, however, been suggested that Eusebius may have misunderstood words which Papias used in an allegorical sense. (See Pitra, *Spicileg. Solesm.* i. Prolegg.

p. v.) The idea of a millennium is also found in the Epistle ascribed to St. Barnabas, c. 15. That the immediate instructor of Papias was probably not the apostle, but another John, see Lightfoot, in 'Contemp. Review,' v. 402.

<sup>d</sup> See Burton, B.L. note 76; Maitland, 'Eruvin,' Essay vii; Pusey in Tertullian, i. 116-30.

<sup>e</sup> Tzschirner, 606.



to bring it into discredit with the orthodox, and other causes contributed to its decline. The idealizing and spiritualizing tendencies of the Alexandrian school, which came into vigour about the same time, were strongly opposed to the literalism on which the chiliastic opinions rested; and, moreover, the doctrine was found a hindrance to the conversion of Greeks and Romans, as being offensive to their national feelings. For such reasons it had for many years been sinking,<sup>f</sup> until the persecution of Decius may have tended to revive its popularity among those who felt the approach of suffering for the faith.<sup>g</sup>

Nepos, an Egyptian bishop, had written a chiliastic book entitled a 'Refutation of the Allegorists;' and about the year 255—Nepos himself being then dead—it was reported that his opinions had found many converts in the district of Arsinoë. Dionysius, on hearing of the matter, behaved with his characteristic prudence; he went to the spot, requested a conference with the millenarian party, and spent three days in discussing with them the book of Nepos, of whom he was careful to speak with great respect and affection. The result was, that, whereas a less considerate course of dealing with them might have driven the followers of Nepos into schism, Dionysius succeeded in convincing them, and was warmly thanked by their leader, Coracion;<sup>h</sup> and from this time chiliasm, although it still had adherents, and in the next century found a champion in Apollinarius of Laodicea,<sup>i</sup> was little heard of in the eastern church.<sup>k</sup>

### III. As the name of Origen is famous in the history of

<sup>f</sup> Mosh. 721; Neand. ii. 396.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel. I. i. 334.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. vii. 24.

<sup>i</sup> Epiphani. lxxvii. 26-8. For Apol-

linarius see below, Book II. c. iv.

<sup>k</sup> Giesel. I. i. 334; ii. 91-2. In the west it was common until the time of Constantine. Ib. vi. 238.

doctrine, that of his contemporary Cyprian<sup>1</sup> is no less so in connexion with the government and discipline of the church. Thascius Cyprianus was born at Carthage or in its neighbourhood about the year 200,<sup>m</sup> and, after having been distinguished as a teacher of rhetoric, he embraced Christianity in mature age.<sup>n</sup> His earlier life had not been free from the usual impurities of heathen morals,<sup>o</sup> although perhaps the abhorrence with which he spoke of it, when viewing it by the light of the gospel, may give an exaggerated idea of the degree in which he had been stained by them.<sup>p</sup> On his conversion, and probably while yet a catechumen, he displayed his zeal by selling a villa and gardens which he possessed near Carthage, and devoting the price, with a large portion of his other property, to the relief of the poor.<sup>q</sup> His deacon and

<sup>1</sup> The truth of St. Cyprian's history, and the genuineness of the epistles ascribed to him and his correspondents, have, with many other things in Christian antiquity, been assailed by the Rev. E. J. Shepherd, in his 'History of the Church of Rome,' (London, 1851), with great vehemence, but in a style of criticism which seems to me altogether arbitrary and unreasonable. I have examined this portion of his work in the *Quarterly Review*, June, 1853, and have noticed such parts of his reply as appeared to require any notice in the *Journal of Sacred Literature*, October, 1856.

<sup>m</sup> Rettberg, 'Thascius Cæcilius Cyprianus, Bischof von Carthago,' Götting. 1831.

<sup>n</sup> A.D. 245, Maran, 'Vita S. Cypr.' ap. Migne, 79-80; A.D. 246, Pearson, 'Annales Cyprianici,' ap. Fell, 6.

<sup>o</sup> It was formerly said that he practised magic as a means towards gratifying his passions (Greg. Naz. Orat. xxiv. 8, seqq.) Then it was shown that this statement applied, not to Cyprian of Carthage, but to another person of the same name, who is said to have been

bishop of Antioch, and a martyr under Diocletian (Tillem. v. 329, seqq.). But there can be little doubt that this Syrian,—the Cyprian of Calderon's 'Magico Prodigioso,' as well as of a poem by Eudocia, empress of Theodosius II. (see Patrol. Gr. lxxxv. ; Phot. Biblioth. cod. 184),—is a fabulous person—a legendary reflection of the great African martyr. (See Maran, 75-6; Schröckh, iv. 236; vii. 95; Rettberg, 25-9.) It is a curious circumstance that the Anglican calendar commemorates St. Cyprian on a wrong day. Before the Reformation, the celebration of the English St. Edith excluded that of SS. Cornelius and Cyprian on September 16, but the *eastern* Cyprian was celebrated on September 26. The name of Cyprian, without any designation, was attached to the latter day in the calendar of 1551; and the title "Archbishop of Carthage and martyr" was added in 1662. See Daniel, 'Codex Liturgicus,' iii. 338-9, Lips. 1851.

<sup>p</sup> Neand. i. 309; Rettb. 25.

<sup>q</sup> Pontius, de Vita et Passione S. Cypr. c. 3.

biographer, Pontius, however, tells us that these gardens were afterwards restored to Cyprian "by the indulgence of God,"—most probably through the instrumentality of friends who combined to repurchase them and present them to him.<sup>r</sup> At his baptism, Cyprian added to his old name, Thascius, that of Cæcilius, in remembrance of a presbyter who had influenced his conversion.<sup>s</sup> He was rapidly promoted to the offices of deacon and presbyter ;<sup>t</sup> and on a vacancy in the see of Carthage, within three years after his conversion, he was elected bishop by the general desire of the people—his signal merit being regarded as a warrant for dispensing with the apostolical warning against the promotion of recent converts,<sup>u</sup> as well as for overruling his own unwillingness to undertake the responsibility of such a charge.<sup>x</sup> Five presbyters, however, were opposed to his election ; and, notwithstanding his attempts to conciliate them, they continued to regard him with an implacable feeling of enmity.

Cyprian entered on his episcopate with an earnest resolution to correct the abuses and disorders which he found prevailing among his flock ;<sup>y</sup> but after two years his labours for this purpose were interrupted by the persecution under Decius. At Carthage, as elsewhere in that persecution, the bishop was especially aimed at ; the heathen populace clamoured that he should be thrown to the lions ; and Cyprian—not from fear, but in consequence (as he states) of a heavenly warning, and from a conviction that such a course was most for the benefit of his church— withdrew to a retreat at no great distance, where he remained about

<sup>r</sup> Pontius, de Vita et Passione S. Cypr. c. 15 ; Neand. i. 310.

<sup>s</sup> Pontius, c. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Pearson, 8. Some writers, however (as Bingham, II. x. 7), suppose

him to have been raised to the episcopate *per saltum*.

<sup>u</sup> I Tim. iii. 15.

<sup>x</sup> Pontius, 7 ; Pearson, 9 ; Maran, 79-80.

<sup>y</sup> Rettb. 45-52.

Feb., 250  
to April,  
261.

fourteen months. His property was confiscated on his disappearance.<sup>z</sup>

The unworthy behaviour of Christians in this persecution has been already mentioned.<sup>a</sup> Besides those who actually sacrificed to the heathen gods, multitudes, by a payment to the magistrates, obtained certificates of having obeyed the emperor's commands; and many of these, who were called *libellatics*, persuaded themselves, by an ignorant sort of casuistry, that they had done nothing wrong.<sup>b</sup> The troubles of the Carthaginian church were increased by a practice which originated in the high regard entertained for martyrs and confessors. From a natural feeling of respect for those who shed their blood for the faith, martyrs had been allowed, perhaps as early as the middle of the second century, to recommend for favourable consideration the cases of persons who were under ecclesiastical censure.<sup>c</sup> This was originally the extent of their privilege, and it had been customary that the deacons should visit the martyrs in prison, for the purpose of suggesting caution in the distribution of their favours.<sup>d</sup> But abuses had grown up in the course of years, and some daring novelties of this kind were now introduced at Carthage.<sup>e</sup> One Lucian, inflated by the reputation which he had gained as a confessor, professed that a martyr named Paul had, in right of his martyrdom, bequeathed to him the power of granting readmission to the communion of the church. Tickets were made out in such a form as to be available, not only for the person

<sup>a</sup> Pontius, 7; Cyp. Epp. 16, 20. Perhaps Cyprian's words need not mean that he had any other divine warning than the text Matt. x. 23. See notes by Dr. Newman, in St. Cyp. 'Treatises,' pp. viii., 159. Oxf. 1839.

<sup>a</sup> P. 136.

<sup>b</sup> Mosh. 485; Neand. i. 182.

<sup>c</sup> See Tertull. ad Martyres, 6; de Pudic. 22

<sup>d</sup> Cyp. Ep. 15; Nat. Alex. vi. 106, seqq.; Tillem. iv. 69-70; Mosh. 489-491.

<sup>e</sup> The 25th canon of the council of Illiberis (A.D. 305?) and the 9th of the council of Arles (A.D. 314) are directed against some abuses which then continued to be made of letters from confessors.

named in them, but for an indefinite number of others ;<sup>f</sup> indulgences of this kind were distributed without limit, and even became a matter of traffic. The holders noisily insisted on immediate restoration to full communion ; some bishops yielded to their importunity ;<sup>g</sup> and Lucian, in the name of all the confessors, wrote an insolent letter to Cyprian, announcing that they had granted reconciliation to all the lapsed, and desiring the bishop to convey the information to his episcopal brethren.<sup>h</sup>

Cyprian from his retreat kept up a constant communication with his church, and endeavoured to check these disorders, while at the same time he showed an anxious desire to avoid interference with such privileges as might reasonably be supposed to belong to martyrs and confessors. He allowed that those among the lapsed who had received letters from the sufferers for the faith might be admitted to reconciliation, if in danger of death ; but he directed that the rest should be reserved for an examination of their cases after his return to Carthage, and that in the meantime they should be exhorted to patience.<sup>i</sup>

A short time after Easter 251, the bishop returned to his city, and held a council for the consideration of the questions as to the lapsed. It was agreed that such libellatics as had manifested repentance for their weakness should be forthwith admitted to communion, and that those who had sacrificed should be allowed to hope for admission after a longer period of penance.<sup>k</sup> The latter class received a further indulgence in the following year, when, in the prospect of a renewed persecution, a synod under Cyprian resolved to grant immediate reconciliation to all who had shown themselves duly penitent.<sup>l</sup>

<sup>f</sup> "Communicet ille . . . . cum suis." Cyp. Ep. 15.

<sup>i</sup> Cyp. Epp. 19, 13, &c. ; Tillem. iv. 69-71, 75-6.

<sup>g</sup> Cyp. Epp. 19, 27, &c. <sup>h</sup> Ep. 27.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 1v. 17.

<sup>l</sup> Ep. 57.

Fresh commotions were excited at Carthage by a presbyter named Novatus. It is uncertain whether this man was one of the five presbyters who had objected to Cyprian's promotion;<sup>m</sup> but he had become noted for his insubordination and irregularities. Cyprian tells us that he had robbed widows and orphans, and had embezzled the funds of the church; that he had kicked his wife while pregnant, so as to cause the death of the child; that he had allowed his father to starve in the street,<sup>n</sup> and had refused even to bury him; and that for these and other offences he was about to be brought to trial, when the outbreak of persecution under Decius put a stop to the proceedings. Novatus entered into a connection with Felicissimus, a man of wealth, but of indifferent character, and, either by usurping the episcopal power of ordination, or (as is more likely) by procuring the ministration of some bishop, advanced him to the order of deacon.<sup>o</sup> These two, with others of the clergy, engaged in a course of strong opposition to Cyprian; they incited the lapsed against him; they disputed with his commissioners as to the distribution of the church funds; and at

May, 252. length, about a year after the bishop's return,<sup>p</sup> Felicissimus proceeded to set up one of the malcontent presbyters, Fortunatus, as a rival in the see of Carthage—the consecration being performed by five bishops, who had all been deprived for heresy or lapse.<sup>q</sup> Novatus, the founder of the schism, had in the meantime crossed the Mediterranean to Rome.

Fabian, bishop of Rome, was martyred in January, 250, and the see remained vacant until June in the following year, when Cornelius was elected.<sup>r</sup> During this

<sup>m</sup> Pearson and Mosheim (508-9) suppose that he was not: Tillemont (iv. 613), Neander (i. 313), and Rettberg (103-5), that he was.

<sup>n</sup> "In vico," Ep. 40.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. See Pearson, 25; Bingham, II. iii. 7.

<sup>p</sup> Pearson, 35.

<sup>q</sup> Ep. lix. 104; Schröckh, iv. 295.

<sup>r</sup> Pearson, 17, 28. Decius is said to



interval some letters were exchanged between Cyprian and the Roman clergy, who had been led by reports to think unfavourably of his withdrawal from his city, but afterwards came to understand him better, and agreed with him as to the course which should be pursued towards the lapsed. Among these clergy Novatian was eminent for eloquence and learning. He had received a philosophical education, although it is perhaps a mistake to infer from some of Cyprian's expressions that he was ever professedly a stoic.<sup>s</sup> His temper was morose and gloomy; he had at one time been vexed by a devil—for so the early Christians accounted for appearances which were probably like those of diseased melancholy. After this he had received clinical baptism,<sup>t</sup> and on his recovery had neglected to seek the completion of the baptismal gift by imposition of the bishop's hands; yet, notwithstanding these irregularities, Fabian, from a wish to secure for the church the services of so able a man, had admitted him to the priesthood—having with difficulty overcome the reluctance which was shown by all the clergy and by a large portion of the laity; for both clergy and people had then a voice in the selection of persons to be ordained.<sup>u</sup> In the time of the persecution, when urged to take a share in ministering to his suffering brethren, Novatian is said to have answered that he “had no mind to be any

have declared that he would rather see a pretender to the empire arise than a new bishop of Rome. Cyp. Ep. liii. 9.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. lv.; Walch, ii. 194; Neand. i. 333.

<sup>t</sup> *I.e.* baptism on a sick bed—which was regarded with disfavour on account of the unworthy motives which commonly influenced the receivers in deferring their baptism until they might suppose themselves beyond the risk of forfeiting the grace of the sacrament by a relapse into sin. (See

chap. viii. sect. iii.) The council of Neocæsarea, A.D. 314, forbids the ordination of a person so baptized to the presbyterate, unless he should have afterwards distinguished himself by faith and zeal, or unless the scarcity of other candidates should render the ordination expedient. c. 12.

<sup>u</sup> Cornel. ap. Euseb. vi. 43; Tillem. iii. 437; Baluz. n. in Cypr. col. 317. Walch (ii. 197) supposes that it was not Fabian, but an earlier bishop, who ordained Novatian.

longer a presbyter, and was attached to a different philosophy"—words which seem to indicate that he preferred a recluse ascetic life to the active labours of his office.\*

During the vacancy of the see Novatian had great influence at Rome. Cyprian states<sup>y</sup> that he was the writer of a letter<sup>z</sup> in which the Roman clergy allowed that the lapsed might be reconciled to the church, if in danger of death; but after the election of Cornelius he became the leader of a schismatical party on principles incompatible with any such concession. He held that, although the penitent lapsed might be admitted to the Divine mercy, and therefore ought to be exhorted to repentance, yet the church had no power to grant them absolution, and must for ever exclude them from communion; that a church which communicated with such offenders forfeited its Christian character and privileges.<sup>a</sup> Novatian had before protested that he did not desire the bishoprick of Rome, and we need not suppose his protest insincere, as his severe and unsocial temperament inclined him to a life of seclusion. When, however, the schism was formed, he allowed himself to be set up as its head, and was consecrated by three bishops of obscure sees, who had been

\* Cornel. l. c.; Neand. i. 332. This seems to be a more probable construction of the words than that proposed by Mosheim (p. 516)—that Novatian was disposed to leave the church, which, according to Mosheim's view, he had entered without full conviction. Archdeacon Evans thinks that the story, if in any degree true, is much distorted, as it appears inconsistent with the fact that Novatian soon after took a leading part in the Roman church. ii. 159.

<sup>y</sup> Ep. lv. 5.

<sup>z</sup> Ap. Cyp. Ep. 36.

<sup>a</sup> Cyp. Ep. lv. 26-9; Socrat. iv. 28; Tillem. iii. 472; Walch, ii. 253-5. Neander, who never willingly admits

any fault in a schismatic or reputed heretic, tries to defend Novatian's consistency (i. 334). But in truth all the leading persons would seem to have somewhat altered their views in the course of these affairs. The agreement between Cyprian and Cornelius resulted from an abatement on the part of the African, and an opposite movement on the part of the Roman. (Neand. i. 315; Rettb. 113-16). And Novatian was probably led by Cornelius' previous character to take his election for a token of a policy more lax than that which the bishop actually followed, while Novatian's own opinions had in the meantime become more severe.

drawn to Rome under false pretences, and laid their hands on him in the evening, after a meal. The moving spirit in these proceedings was the Carthaginian Novatus.<sup>b</sup> Possibly he may have disagreed with his old ally Felicissimus as to the treatment of the lapsed ; or he may have taken the part of laxity at Carthage, and that of severity at Rome, from no better motive than a wish by either means to oppose the authority of the regular bishops.<sup>c</sup>

Novatian sent notice of his consecration to the great churches of Alexandria, Antioch, and Carthage. Fabius of Antioch was inclined to acknowledge him, but died soon after, without having taken any decided measures.<sup>d</sup> The letter to Dionysius of Alexandria appears to have been apologetic, representing that Novatian had been forced into the course which he had taken ; to which Dionysius replied that, if it were so, he ought to show his sincerity by withdrawing from his rivalry to Cornelius, and endeavouring to heal the breach in the Roman church.<sup>e</sup> At Carthage the schismatical envoys were repelled by a council which was sitting at the time of their arrival.<sup>f</sup> One Maximus was afterwards set up as Novatianist bishop of Carthage, and intruders of the same kind were planted in other African dioceses.<sup>g</sup>

A large number of the Roman confessors had at first been engaged in the schism. These soon discovered their error ; they formally acknowledged Cornelius as bishop, and returned to the unity of the church,<sup>h</sup> while Novatian endeavoured to secure the allegiance of his followers by requiring them, at the reception of the eucharist, to swear that they would never forsake him or join Cornelius.<sup>i</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Cornel. ap. Euseb. vi. 43. The Greek writers call Novatian *Novatus* (Νοούατος).

<sup>c</sup> See Tillem. iii. 449 ; Mosh. 504. 511, 518 ; Walch, ii. 230 ; Rettb. 107-111 ; Neand. i. 337 Giesel. I. i. 392.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. vi. 44 ; Tillem. iii. 463.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. vi. 45.

<sup>f</sup> Cyp. Ep. 44.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. lix. 10 ; Tillem. iv. 107-8.

<sup>h</sup> Cyp. Ep. 49.

<sup>i</sup> Cornel. ap. Euseb. vi. 43.

Novatianism found many proselytes in the west, and its principles became even more rigid than at first. The sentence of lifelong exclusion from communion, which had originally been applied to those only who had denied the faith,<sup>k</sup> was afterwards extended to all who, after baptism, committed the greater sins. The Novatianists assumed the name of *Cathari*, or *Puritans*. They rebaptized proselytes from the church, considering its communion to be impure, and its ministrations to be consequently void. Some of them condemned digamy (or second marriage) as equally sinful with adultery.<sup>l</sup> As to the chief doctrines of the gospel, however, the Novatianists were and continued steadily orthodox, and many of them suffered, even to death, for the faith. The council of Nicæa

A. D. 325. attempted to heal the schism by conciliatory measures;<sup>m</sup> but the Novatianists still regarded the laxity of the church's discipline as a bar to a reunion with it, although they were drawn into more friendly relations with the catholics by a community of danger during the ascendancy of Arianism. The sect long continued to exist. In Phrygia, it combined with the remnant of the Montanists;<sup>n</sup> and at Alexandria, a patriarch found

<sup>k</sup> See Cyp. Ep. lv. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Epiphan. lix. 3-6; Theodoret, Hær. iii. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Can. viii. enacts that Novatianist clergy shall, on professing adhesion to the discipline of the church as to communion with digamists and the lapsed, be admitted by imposition of hands, and allowed to retain their rank; and it provides for cases of conflicting claims, by ordering that employment should be found for the Novatianist bishops as *chorepiscopi* (see below, chap. VIII. ii. 3) or as presbyters, unless the catholic bishops should be pleased to share the episcopal title with them. Socrates tells (i. 10) a story of Acesius, a Novatianist bishop, who had been

invited to attend the council. Constantine asked him whether he assented to its creed and to its determination respecting the time of Easter; to which Acesius answered that both were in accordance with what he had always held as matter of apostolical tradition. The emperor then asked why he remained separate from the church; on which the bishop stated the rigid notions of his sect as to the forgiveness of sins. Constantine rejoined by desiring him to "take a ladder, and go up to heaven by himself."

<sup>n</sup> Socrat. iv. 28; v. 21-2; Giesel. I. i. 394. Socrates, who is favourable to the Novatianists (although it is pro-

occasion to write against it so late as the end of the sixth century.<sup>o</sup>

The opposite movement at Carthage was altogether a failure. It was in vain that Felicissimus endeavoured to get his bishop acknowledged at Rome.<sup>p</sup> Most of the lapsed, who had adhered to him in the hope of gaining easy re-admission in a body to the church, were shocked at the establishment of a formal schism, and sued for reconciliation on Cyprian's terms;<sup>q</sup> after which we hear nothing further of Felicissimus.

The great plague which has been already mentioned drew forth a signal display of Cyprian's charity and practical energy, and of those fruits of Christian zeal and love, which, wherever they appeared, were found perhaps the most effective popular evidence in behalf of the faith which prompted them. While the heathen population of Carthage left their sick untended, and cast out the bodies of the dead into the streets—while all seemed to be hardened in selfishness, and wretches even invaded the houses of the dying for the purpose of plunder—and while the multitude reviled the Christians as having drawn down the visitation by their impiety towards the gods—Cyprian called his flock together, exhorted them by precepts and examples from Scripture, and appointed to each his special work. The rich gave their money and the poor gave their labour towards the common object; the dead bodies which tainted the air were buried; and the sick, whether Christian or pagan, were nursed at the expense and by the care of the Christians.<sup>r</sup>

bably a mistake to suppose that he was himself a member of the sect), complains that at Rome and Alexandria they were oppressed by the catholic bishops in the beginning of the fifth century—having until then flourished, at Rome especially. vii. 7, 11.

<sup>o</sup> This was Eulogius, the contemporary of Gregory the Great. Phot. Bibl. codd. 182, 208, 230.

<sup>p</sup> Cyp. Ep. 59.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. sect. 15.

<sup>r</sup> Pontius, 9-12.

A fresh controversy soon arose to engage the attention of Cyprian. Cornelius died or was martyred<sup>s</sup> in September, 252; and, after the Roman see had been held for less than eight months by Lucius, Stephen was chosen to fill it.<sup>t</sup> Stephen, a man of violent and arrogant character, speedily embroiled himself with some Asiatic bishops on a question as to the manner of admitting converts from heresy and schism into the church. The question was one which had not practically occurred in the apostolic age;<sup>u</sup> and, having been consequently left open by Scripture, it had been variously determined by different churches. At Rome, proselytes were admitted by imposition of hands; in Asia, rebaptism had been practised; and for each method apostolical authority was pretended—in other words, each could plead immemorial local usage.<sup>x</sup> Synods held at Iconium and at Synnada, apparently in the reign of Alexander Severus, had established the rule of rebaptism throughout most churches of Asia Minor.<sup>y</sup> In Africa the same practice had been sanctioned by a synod held under Agrippinus, bishop of Carthage, early in the third century;<sup>z</sup> but—chiefly perhaps because conversions from sectarianism were rare—it seems to have fallen into disuse in the interval between Agrippinus and Cyprian.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>s</sup> Cyprian, in writing both to Lucius (Ep. lxi. 3) and to Stephen (lxxviii. 5) styles Cornelius a martyr; but it would seem that the word is not meant to signify a violent death, although the Eusebian Chronicle (Patrol. xxvii. 650), St. Jerome (De VV. Illustr. 66; Vita S. Pauli, 2), and other later writers, state that Cornelius was put to death. See Tillem. iii. 468; Migne, Patr. Lat. iii. 681.

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. vii. 2.

<sup>u</sup> Augustin. de Baptismo cont. Donatistas, iv. 9.

<sup>x</sup> Tillem. iv. 140, Mosh. 543-4, Walch, Æ. 315.

<sup>y</sup> Dion. Alex. ap. Euseb. vii. 7; Hefele, i. 82.

<sup>z</sup> Cyp. Ep. 70. The date of this council was probably in the episcopate of Callistus of Rome, A.D. 218-222. (Hefele, i. 78-9.) Tertullian disallows the baptism of heretics. (De Bapt. 15; De Pudic. 19.) See note by Dom Thomas, in Migne, ii. 1183; Münter, 151.

<sup>a</sup> Aug. de Bapt. iii. 16; Mosh. 536-7; Tillem. iv. 143. On the whole question, see a learned note by Fell in Cyp. p. 243 (reprinted by Routh. Reliq. Sac. iii. 210-16, and by Migne, Patrol. iii. 1073-7).



The origin of the disagreement between Stephen and the Asiatics is unknown, but it may possibly have been that some orientals, residing at Rome, wished to introduce there the practice of their native churches.<sup>b</sup> Neither is it exactly known what Stephen's own opinion was; whether his words—that converts “from whatsoever heresy”<sup>c</sup> should be received by imposition of hands—are to be understood absolutely, or whether (as seems more probable) they ought to be interpreted with limitations agreeable to the church's later judgment.<sup>d</sup> It seems, however, to be certain that he was engaged in controversy with the Asiatics before the difference with Cyprian arose. He wrote to them on the subject of their practice, and they refused to abandon it.<sup>e</sup>

Cyprian was drawn into the controversy by a question of some Numidian and Mauritanian bishops, who had probably been led to suspect the propriety of rebaptism by seeing that the Novatianists used it in the case of proselytes from the church.<sup>f</sup> He replied that converts must be baptized, unless they had received the regular baptism of the church before falling into heresy or schism, in which case imposition of hands would suffice.<sup>g</sup> He argued that there could be only one church, one faith, one baptism; that, as at baptism itself there is required a profession of belief in “life everlasting, and the forgiveness of sins through the holy church,”<sup>h</sup> there can be no forgiveness unless within the church; that the water cannot be sanctified unto cleansing by one who is himself unclean;<sup>i</sup> and

<sup>b</sup> Mosh. 538.

<sup>c</sup> Cyp. Ep. lxxiv. 1.

<sup>d</sup> See Pearson, 54. Nat. Alex. vi. Dissert. 13-14; Pagi, iii. 64; Thomas-sin, in Patrolog. iii. 1250, seqq.; Walch, ii. 334, 345; Rettb. 160-5; He-fele, i. 100-101.

<sup>e</sup> Dion. Alex. ap. Euseb. vii. 5. See Maran, Vit. S. Cypriani c. 29; Mosh.

540; Schröckh, iv. 324; Neand. i. 441.

<sup>f</sup> See Cyp. Ep. lxxiii. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 71.

<sup>h</sup> “Credis in vitam æternam et remissionem peccatorum per sanctam ecclesiam?” Conc. Carth. de Bapt. I. (Ep. lxx. 2.) See Heurtley, ‘Harmonia Symbolica,’ 19-20. Oxf. 1858.

—since the claim of prescription could not be advanced for this view in Africa, as it was in the east—he maintained that reason ought to prevail over custom.<sup>k</sup> The principle of rebaptism was affirmed by three Carthaginian councils, the last of which was held in September, 256; but, although they disclaimed all intention of laying down a rule for other churches, Stephen took violent offence at their proceedings; he refused to see the envoys who had been sent to him after the second council,<sup>l</sup> charged his flock to withhold all hospitality from them, denounced Cyprian in outrageous language, as a “false Christ, false apostle, and deceitful worker,”<sup>m</sup> and broke off communion with the Africans,<sup>n</sup> as he had before done with the Asiatics. Such a proceeding, however, on the part of a bishop of Rome in the third century, did not, like the excommunications of popes in later times, imply a claim of authority to separate from the body of Christ, or to deprive of the means of grace; it was merely an exercise of the power which every bishop had to suspend religious intercourse with communities or persons whom he supposed to be in error.<sup>o</sup>

Finding himself thus cut off from communion with the great church of the west, Cyprian resolved to open a correspondence with the Asiatics who were in the same condition.<sup>p</sup> He therefore sent a letter with a report of

<sup>k</sup> Conc. Carth. i. c.

<sup>k</sup> “Non est autem de consuetudine præscribendum, sed ratione vincendum.” Ep. lxxi. 2.

<sup>l</sup> That this mission was after the second council—not, as some suppose, after the third—see Walch, ii. 361.

<sup>m</sup> Firmil. ad Cypr. last section;—“Non pudet Stephanum . . . Cyprianum pseudochristum et pseudapostolum et dolosum operarium dicere.” (II Cor. xi. 13.)

<sup>n</sup> This seems to be certain, although

some Romanists, unwilling to allow that a pope can have taken such a step against so eminent a saint as Cyprian, argue that Stephen went no further than threatening. See Baron. 258. 50; Pagi, iii. 64; Tillem. iv. 156; Mosh. 538, 543; Walch, ii. 363; Rettb. 172, 184-6.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. 447, 538. Compare the reasoning of Tillemont as to something which took place at the council of Ephesus. xiv. 412.

<sup>p</sup> Mosh. 543-4.

his proceedings to Firmilian, bishop of Cæsarea, in Cappadocia (who has already been mentioned as a friend of Origen). Firmilian in his answer deals very freely with Stephen's character and conduct—so much so, that the first editors to whom the epistle became known suppressed it on account of its bearing against the later pretensions of Rome, and that other Romanists have since justified the suppression, and have regretted that, through the imprudent candour of less politic editors, such a document had been allowed to see the light.<sup>q</sup>

The sequel is not distinctly recorded. The death of Stephen, early in the year 257,<sup>r</sup> contributed towards a peaceful settlement of the dispute. Dionysius of Alexandria, whose own opinions probably inclined to the Roman view,<sup>s</sup> exerted himself as a mediator by writing both to Stephen and to his successor, Xystus or Sixtus;<sup>t</sup> and from the terms in which Cyprian's contemporary biographer speaks of Xystus, as a "good and peace-making priest,"<sup>u</sup> it is inferred that the controversy was laid to rest for the time by an understanding that every church should be left to its own judgment. The question of rebaptism was afterwards decided against Cyprian's views, and also against the extreme opinion on the opposite side, by the eighth canon of the council of Arles, which ordered that, if the schismatical baptism had been administered in the name of A.D. 314. the Trinity, converts should be admitted to the church by imposition of hands.<sup>x</sup>

<sup>q</sup> See Baluze's note at the beginning of the epistle (Patrol. iii. 1153); Pearson's Minor Works, ed. Churton, I. civ.-cviii. Some Romanists (Missori, Molkenbuhr, &c.) have endeavoured to deny its genuineness, on account of its hostility to Roman pretensions, but Mr. Shepherd supposes it to be a forgery in the papal interest! See Gieseler, I. i. 396; Quart. Rev. xciii. 103.

<sup>r</sup> Pearson, 60.

<sup>s</sup> Neander, however, thinks the contrary. i. 443. Comp. Walch, ii. 372-3.

<sup>t</sup> Euseb. vii. 5; Tillem. iv. 142-3, 160; Rettb. 193-4.

<sup>u</sup> Pontius, c. 14; comp. Giesel. I. i. 397; Tillem. iv. 160-1.

<sup>x</sup> Hard. i. 265. St. Jerome says that the bishops who had taken part with Cyprian afterwards passed a de-

When the persecution under Valerian reached Africa, A.D. 257. Cyprian was carried before the proconsul, Aug. 30. Paternus.<sup>y</sup> In answer to interrogations, he avowed himself a Christian and a bishop; he added that Christians served only one God, and that they prayed daily for themselves, for all mankind, and for the safety of the emperors. On being questioned as to the names of his clergy, he said that the laws of the state condemned informers; that ecclesiastical discipline forbade the clergy to offer themselves for punishment; but that, if sought for, they might be found in their places. As he steadfastly refused to sacrifice, he was banished to Curubis, a town about forty miles from Carthage, which his deacon Pontius, who accompanied him, describes as a pleasant abode.<sup>z</sup> On the night after

cree in contradiction to their former opinions (Adv. Lucif. 23); but there is no other authority for this statement. At a later time, rebaptism of proselytes was practised by the Donatists, who naturally insisted much on the authority of St. Cyprian. St. Augustine, in his treatise 'De Baptismo contra Donatistas,' tells them that, if Cyprian's view as to baptism was in their favour, his doctrine of ecclesiastical unity, and the charity which made him willing to allow a difference of practice without breach of communion, were strongly in condemnation of them. (i. 28; ii. 12; v. i. See too 'Contra Crescon.' ii. 39, seqq., and 'De Unico Baptismo.') He argues at great length against the arguments of Cyprian and his councils: "Christi baptisma," he says, "ubique sanctum est, et quamvis apud hæreticos vel schismaticos, ipsius tamen hæresis vel schismatis non est, et ideo nec ad ipsam Catholicam inde videntes oportet denuo baptizari" (i. 29). For Augustine's opinion as to the effect of schismatical baptism

see iii. 18. He often speaks of a "plenary" council as having pronounced against Cyprian's views; it seems most likely that the council of Arles is meant, although some suppose the reference to be to the council of Nicæa, inasmuch as the same principle which admits the baptism of schismatics who were orthodox as to the fundamental doctrines of the faith was involved in the recognition of Novatianist orders by the 8th Nicene canon. See note on the treatise, ii. 14; Nat. Alex. vi. Dissert. 24; Hieron. adv. Lucif. 27; Tillem. iv. 160, 632; Dupin, i. 152; Suicer, s. v. *αἰρετικός*, coll. 130-1; Pagi, iii. 574-7; Retth. 194; Hefele, i. 105-6.

<sup>y</sup> The remaining part of the story is from Pontius and the Proconsular Acts. (Patrol. iii.-iv.)

<sup>z</sup> Gibbon—whose zeal in extenuating the conduct of persecutors towards the Christians would be amusing, if it were not very disgusting—dwells much on the pleasantness of Curubis, and other such points (i. 558-60). M. Guizot well remarks—"Setting aside all religious

his arrival there, a vision announced to him that he was to be put to death next day ; the event, however, proved that the delay of a day was to be interpreted as signifying a year. The bishop's residence at Curubis was cheered by frequent visits from his friends. By the means which were at his disposal, he was enabled to send relief to many of his brethren who had been carried away to labour in the mines of Mauritania and Numidia, and were treated with great barbarity ; and with these and other confessors he exchanged letters of sympathy and encouragement.<sup>a</sup>

On the arrival of a new proconsul, Galerius, Cyprian was recalled from banishment, and was ordered to remain at his gardens near Carthage. Valerian's second and more severe edict<sup>b</sup> had now been issued, and the bishop was resolved to endure for his faith the worst that man could inflict on him. Fearing, however, during a temporary absence of the proconsul at Utica, lest he should be carried to that city, instead of being sacrificed in the sight of his own people, he concealed himself for a time ; but, on the return of Galerius to Carthage, he reappeared at his gardens, and withstood all the entreaties of his friends, who urged him to save himself by flight. On the 13th of September 258, he was carried to a place where the proconsul was staying for the recovery of his health, about four miles from Carthage. Here the bishop was treated with great respect, and was allowed to enjoy the society of his friends at supper, while the streets around the proconsular house,

considerations, it is impossible not to be surprised at the kind of complaisance with which the historian here insists, in favour of the persecutors, on some mitigating circumstances allowed at the death of a man whose only crime was maintaining his own opinions with rankness and courage" (note, *ib.* p.

560 ; see too Mackintosh, *ib.* 527). Moreover, it is very clear, even from the narrative of Pontius, that the case of Cyprian was not what Gibbon professes to consider it—an average specimen of the treatment of the victims.

<sup>a</sup> Epp. 77, seqq.

<sup>b</sup> See p. 137.

in which he was lodged, were thronged by Christians anxious for their pastor's safety. These had flocked from the capital on the news of his arrest; many of them spent the night in the open air, and a vast multitude crowded the place of judgment when on the following day—the anniversary of the death of Cornelius of Rome—Cyprian was led forth for trial. As he arrived, heated with the walk from the proconsul's house, a soldier of the guard, who had formerly been a Christian, offered him some change of dress; but he declined the offer, saying that it was useless to remedy evils which would probably forthwith come to an end. On being required by the proconsul, in the name of the emperors, to offer sacrifice, Cyprian answered by a refusal. The magistrate desired him to consider his safety. "Do as thou art commanded," was the reply; "in so righteous a cause, there is no room for consideration." It was with reluctance and difficulty that Galerius, after a short consultation with his advisers, pronounced the inevitable sentence,—that Thascius Cyprian, as having long been a ringleader in impiety against the gods of Rome, and having resisted the attempts made by the emperors to reclaim him, should be beheaded with the sword, in punishment of his offences, and as a warning to his followers. The bishop received his doom with an expression of thankfulness to God; and a cry arose from the Christians who were present, "Let us go and be beheaded with him!" Cyprian was without delay conducted to the scene of execution—a level space surrounded by thick trees, the branches of which were soon filled by members of his flock, who eagerly climbed up, "like Zacchæus," that they might witness their bishop's triumph over death. After having knelt for a short time in prayer, he bound his eyes with his own hands, and, having directed that a present should be given to the



executioner, submitted himself to the sword. His body was deposited in a neighbouring spot, "because of the curiosity of the heathen," but was afterwards removed by torchlight with great solemnity, and laid in an honourable sepulchre; while his blood, which had been carefully caught in cloths and handkerchiefs as it fell, was treasured up as a precious relic.

It is said that Cyprian daily read some portion of Tertullian's works, and that he was accustomed to ask for the book by saying to his secretary, "Give me my master."<sup>c</sup> The influence of his great countryman on his mind is abundantly evident in his writings;<sup>d</sup> perhaps Tertullian's Montanism may have shared, as well as the African temperament,<sup>e</sup> in producing Cyprian's tendency to a belief in frequent supernatural visitations. But if Cyprian was inferior to the earlier writer in originality and genius, he was free from his exaggeration and irregularity, and possessed talents for practical life of which Tertullian gives no indication. The master was carried into schism; the scholar's great and ruling idea was that of unity in the visible church, and it was on this that his controversies turned. In his treatise on the subject he ransacks Scripture for types and arguments; he concludes that "he who has not the church for his mother, cannot have God for his Father;"<sup>f</sup> that the church is as the ark of Noah, without which there was no deliverance from destruction;<sup>g</sup> that for those who are separate from the visible church neither miracles nor martyrdom can avail as evidences of faith or as grounds of hope.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. c. 53.

<sup>f</sup> De Unitate Eccles. 6;

<sup>d</sup> Rettb. 17, 19, 30, 36, 218, 221; Neand. ii. 446. For Cyprian's obligations to Minucius Felix, see Le Nourry, in Migne's Patrologia, iii. 405-8.

<sup>g</sup> Ib.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 15, 19. Here, it will be observed, Cyprian opposed the tendency of his age to overvalue martyrdom.

<sup>e</sup> Neand. i. 329.

While we may agree in his principles generally, it can hardly be doubted that he carries them out with a reasoning too precise for the nature of the subject ; that he does not sufficiently consider the share which the character and circumstances of each individual, as well as his outward position or profession, have in determining his state before God ; or the indications afforded by Scripture, that, besides the main broad system of the Divine government, there is also with the Almighty a merciful regard to exceptions and peculiarities,—a regard of which man indeed may not presume to forestall the effect, but which we are yet bound reverently, charitably, and thankfully to keep in mind.<sup>1</sup>

It would, however, be an utter misunderstanding of Cyprian to suppose that in his views of unity he was influenced either by want of charity towards those whose schism he condemned, or by a wish to secure for himself, as bishop, a tyrannical domination over the minds of men. It was the tendency of the age to elevate the episcopate, as a power conducive to strength, to union, regularity, and peace ; but if Cyprian bore a part in promoting the exaltation of his order, it was the natural

<sup>1</sup> By *accommodation* I mean the principle observable in God's merciful dispensations, of suiting Himself to the infirmities and errors of His creatures, by occasional variations of His own stated laws, without any repeal of those laws themselves. To begin from the highest ground :—It is evident that all mercy is an accommodation of this kind ; a suspension in particular cases of the execution of the laws of rigorous justice ; those laws still preserving their supreme authority, and being virtually acknowledged in the very gratitude which hails their apparent supersession . . . .

“With this striking example [of the Fall and the Redemption] impressed on your minds, and separating (as you

may easily do) the principle involved in it from its details, consider first,—Is it unlikely that God should appoint a special organization of the means of grace in His church? Secondly, *that when that organization has been more or less impaired, He should condescend to continue His gifts in a manner accommodated to the alteration?*

“Nay, it is supposable that the whole body of [irregular religious] systems, though human and unauthorized, may be found to form *designed members* in a vast scheme of divine moral government, of which the church itself is as yet but a part, though the noblest part.”—Archer Butler, Sermons. *Dubl.* 1849, pp. 470, 472-3, 480-1.

effect of his great character, not the object or the result of his ambition.<sup>k</sup> Now that Christianity had long been professed by multitudes as a religion derived by inheritance, not embraced from special conviction—now that time and freedom from persecution had produced a general deterioration in the community, so that the bishop could not reckon on unanimous support in his measures for the regulation of the church—it was necessary for the public good that he should sometimes act by his own authority in a greater degree than the bishops of earlier times. Yet Cyprian was far from any attempt at establishing an autocracy; it was his practice, as well as his desire, to take no important step except in conjunction with his clergy and his people.<sup>l</sup>

On the other hand, the unity which Cyprian contemplated was utterly unlike that of later Rome.<sup>m</sup> In his dealings with the Roman bishops he appears on terms of perfect equality with them. He writes to them and of them as merely his “brethren and colleagues.” Far from acknowledging a superiority in them, he remonstrates with Cornelius for lowering the dignity common to all members of the episcopate.<sup>n</sup> He admonishes Stephen when negligent of his duty in one case; he declares his judgment null, and sets it aside, in another;° he treats the idea of a “bishop of bishops” as monstrous<sup>p</sup>—far as Stephen’s understanding of such a title

<sup>k</sup> Schröckh, iv. 278; Neand. i. 268.

<sup>l</sup> Epp. 28, 38, &c. See Möhler, ‘Einheit in der Kirche,’ 198-202, ed. 2. In remarkable opposition to the German writers who suppose that Cyprian laboured to set up a new and higher idea of the episcopate, Dr Pusey argues that he condescended from an idea which he had inherited. ‘Councils of the Church,’ c. iii. Oxford, 1857.

<sup>m</sup> See Field on the Church, b. V. c. 36; Ellendorf, ‘Der Primat der röm. Päpste,’ i.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. lix. a

<sup>o</sup> Epp. 67-8, as to the affair of Marcellian, bishop of Arles, and that of the Spanish bishops Basilides and Martial. See Field, iii. 348, 355-8, ed. Lond. 1850; Barrow, 548-552, 570; Quart. Rev. xciii. 105-8.

<sup>p</sup> “Neque enim quisquam nostrum episcopum se episcoporum constituit, aut tyrannico terrore ad obsequendi necessitatem collegas suos adigit, quando habeat omnis episcopus pro licentia libertatis et potestatis suæ arbitrium proprium, tamque judicari ab

fell short of the more recent Roman pretensions. Even supposing all the passages in which he magnifies the Roman church to be genuine—(and where words of this sort are wanting in some manuscripts there is an almost certain presumption against them, inasmuch as in the times to which the manuscripts belong there was no temptation to omit, but a strong inducement to insert such words<sup>q</sup>)—still the dignity which he assigns to that church, to its supposed apostolic founder and his successors, is only that of precedence among equals; it is rather purely symbolical than in any way practical. He regards St. Peter as the type of apostleship, and the Roman church as the representative of unity;<sup>r</sup> he interprets the promise of “the keys of the kingdom of heaven” as given to the apostle for the whole episcopal order;<sup>s</sup> his language and his actions are alike inconsistent with any idea of subjection to Rome as a higher authority entitled to interfere with other churches or to overrule their determinations.

alio non possit quam nec ipse potest alterum judicare. Sed expectemus universi iudicium Domini nostri Jesu Christi, qui unus et solus habet potestatem et præponendi nos in ecclesiæ suæ gubernatione, et de actu nostro iudicandi.” Cyp. ad Conc. Carth. de Baptismo III. (Migne, iii. 1054).

<sup>q</sup> “Some of these are almost certainly interpolated; one, and perhaps the most celebrated, in the treatise ‘De Unitate Ecclesiæ’ (c. 4), has words which are wanting in most MSS. Baluze followed Bishop Fell in rejecting them, and so the passage was printed before his death, which took place while his edition was in the press; but the Benedictines, on whom the completion of the work devolved, cancelled the leaf, and, while they preserved in the notes Baluze’s reasons for rejection, restored the words in their text for the sake of uni-

formity with other French editions (‘propterea quod servata fuerunt in omnibus editionibus quæ in Gallia ab annis cl. prodierunt’).” *Quart. Rev.* xciii. 114. See Ellendorf, i. 182; Ianus, 137-8.

<sup>r</sup> “I can discern little solidity in this conceit,” says Barrow, “and as little harm.” 73.

<sup>s</sup> Ep. 33. Cyprian, in speaking of the misdeeds of Novatus after his removal to Rome, says, “Plane quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit” (Ep. xlix. 2, *Patrol.* iii. 728). But, although the ecclesiastical pre-eminence of Rome *was* founded on its secular greatness (as will be shown hereafter), these words can hardly be quoted as if they bore on the ecclesiastical question, so as to afford a ground of argument against the Roman view.

## CHAPTER VII.

FROM THE ACCESSION OF GALLIENUS TO THE GRANT OF  
TOLERATION BY CONSTANTINE.

A.D. 261-313.

GALLIENUS, when left sole emperor by the captivity of his father and colleague, put a stop to the A.D. 261-268. persecution which Valerian had commenced, and issued edicts by which the exiles were recalled, the cemeteries were restored to the Christians, and a free exercise of religion was granted.<sup>a</sup> Thus was Christianity for the first time acknowledged as a lawful religion; a benefit which, in so far as the frivolous and worthless prince was concerned, it probably owed to his indifference rather than to any better motive.

In this reign began a contest as to the see of Antioch, which lasted several years. Paul, a native of Samosata, had been appointed bishop about the year 260. He enjoyed the protection of Zenobia, queen of Palmyra, and was generally admired for his eloquence; but both his opinions and his manners gave scandal to many of the neighbouring clergy, and to the more discerning portion of his flock. Through the favour of Zenobia, as is supposed, he obtained a considerable civil office;<sup>b</sup> and he chose to be addressed by the title of *ducenarius* rather than by that of bishop. In his public appearances Paul affected the state and pomp of a Roman magistrate; he even introduced much of this display into his ecclesi-

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. vii. 13.

<sup>b</sup> *Ducenarius*—an officer employed in the collection of the revenue, and so

called from his salary of 200 sesterces—about £1600. Gibbon, i. 573. Gies. I. i. 300.

astical functions. He erected a *tribunal*, and railed off a *secretum* in his church; in preaching he used the gestures of secular orators, while he expected the hearers to receive his words with clapping of hands and waving of handkerchiefs, as if in a theatre; he discarded the old grave music of the church, and introduced female singers into his choir; nay, it is said that he substituted hymns in celebration of himself for those which had been sung in honour of the Saviour, and that he caused himself to be extolled by the preachers of his party as an angel from heaven. He is charged with having enriched himself by taking bribes, not only in the character of ducenary, but in his episcopal capacity of arbiter between the brethren. And he is further accused of luxurious living, and of indecent familiarity with young women—two of whom were his constant companions.<sup>c</sup>

It has been supposed that Paul's system of doctrine was framed with a view to the favour of his patroness, who is said by St. Athanasius to have been attached to Judaism.<sup>d</sup> His adversaries describe it as akin to that of Artemon.<sup>e</sup> He maintained that there is no distinction of Persons in the Godhead; that the Logos and the Holy Ghost are *in* the Father in the same manner as the reason and the

<sup>c</sup> These statements are taken from the letter of the council which deposed him (Euseb. vii. 30). As he objected to the Christian hymns on account of their having been lately composed, it has been inferred that he substituted the Old Testament psalms (Mosh. 703; Neand. ii. 330-1). Mosheim sees in this a wish to please his patroness, but Neander thinks otherwise. The statement that Paul caused hymns to be sung in his own honour might almost seem incredible; yet, as Dr. Routh points out, St. Jerome's evidence (in Matth. xxi. 15) that it was usual to welcome bishops with shouts of "Ho

sanna" may serve to lessen the improbability (Reliq. Sac. iii. 340; comp. Bingham, II. iv. 3). The sermons in praise of Paul were no doubt controversial, and preached after the beginning of the contest (Mosh. 704). As to the last charge, Heinichen (Excursus 13 in Euseb.) strongly argues that, while the bishop's association with his female companions was imprudent, there is no reason to suppose that there was anything worse in it.

<sup>d</sup> Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, 71 Theodoret, Hær. ii. 8; Mosh. 706.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. vii. 30; Theod. i. 9.



spirit are in man ; that when the Logos is said to have been from everlasting, nothing more than an ideal existence in the Divine foreknowledge is meant ; that His "generation" means only a going forth to act ; that Jesus was a mere man (although it was perhaps admitted that his birth was supernatural) ; that he is called Son of God, as having in a certain sense *become* such through the influence of the Divine Logos, which dwelt in him, but without any personal union.<sup>f</sup>

In order to the consideration of the charges against Paul, a synod of bishops and clergy from Syria, Asia, and Arabia, assembled at Antioch in 264. Among the members were Firmilian, Gregory of Neocæsarea, and his brother Athenodore ; and the venerable Dionysius of Alexandria, although compelled by age and infirmity to excuse himself from attendance, addressed to the assembly a letter in strong condemnation of Paul's opinions.<sup>g</sup> The accused, however, succeeded in throwing a veil over his unsoundness ; he satisfied his brethren by expressing himself in plausible terms, and by promising to abstain from everything that could give offence.<sup>h</sup> The promise was not kept. Two more councils were held ;<sup>i</sup> and at the second of these the subtleties which had imposed on less expert theologians were detected by a presbyter named Malchion, A.D. 269-270.

who, having formerly been a distinguished sophist or rhetorician, was skilled in the intricacies of such disputation. The bishop was deposed, and Domnus, son of his predecessor, was appointed to succeed him.<sup>k</sup>

Paul still persisted in keeping his position. Relying on the protection of Zenobia, and probably supported by

<sup>f</sup> Athanas. c. Apollinar. ii. 3 (t. 1. 942) ; Epiphan. lxx. 1-2 ; Mosh. 702, 712-13.

<sup>g</sup> Euseb. vii. 27. Dionysius died soon after this. Ibid. 28.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. vii. 28.

<sup>i</sup> Tillem. iv. 296-7 ; Clinton, A.D. 265. Baronius and Pagi (iii. 178-9) allow only one council after the first.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. vii. 29 ; Hieron. de Viris

a large party among the Christians of Antioch, he retained the episcopal house, with the church which adjoined it;<sup>1</sup> and the dispute as to the possession of these was referred to the emperor Aurelian, soon after his A.D. 273-4. victory over Zenobia. Aurelian wisely abstained from intermeddling in a question of Christian doctrines and usages. He decided that the buildings should belong to that party which the bishops of Rome and of Italy should acknowledge as being in communion with themselves; and their judgment, pronounced in favour of Domnus, was enforced by the civil power.<sup>m</sup> From this time the followers of Paul became a heretical sect, whose baptism, although administered in the name of the Trinity, was disallowed by the church, on the ground that the orthodox words of administration were used by them in a heterodox meaning.<sup>n</sup>

Illustr. 71. This council is generally supposed (although the fact has been questioned by Dr. Burton and others) to have condemned the term *ὁμοούσιος* (*consubstantial* or *coessential*); whether it were that Paul used it in a sense different from that in which the Nicene council afterwards adopted it, or that he made it the foundation for heterodox inferences. See Athan. de Synodis, 43-7, and Newman's notes in Oxf. Transl. pp. 147, 165-76; Bull, v. 92-98; Suicer in voc.; Tillem. iv. 300-1; Routh, Rel. Sac. iii. 362-5; Burton, i. 399; Newman on Arianism, 31, 209; Hefele, i. 115. As to a letter said to have been written by six bishops in the matter of Paul, see Hefele, i. 112.

<sup>1</sup> It seems most probable that *both* are included in the words τοῦ τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἴκου (Euseb. vii. 30; Tillem. v. 302; Mosh. 713). Mosheim (716) and Gibbon (i. 574) suppose that the people took part with Paul because their right of election had been set

aside in the appointment of Domnus to the see by authority of the council alone. But if the usual practice was violated in this case, surely the attachment of the people to the heretical bishop was more likely a cause than a consequence of the council's proceeding. Comp. Bingham, IV. ii. 12.

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. vii. 30; Mosh. 717-18; Burton, ii. 405; Neand. i. 196. The remarks of some Romanists—which may be exemplified by the Abbé Rohrbacher's mention of the affair in his table of contents (vol. v.)—"Primaute du Siège de Rome reconnue par Aurélien"—are palpably absurd. The eastern bishops, having been parties in the case, were disqualified for acting as umpires. Aurelian, therefore, referred it to another portion of the church—naturally naming as first the bishop of his own imperial city.

<sup>n</sup> Conc. Nicæn., A.D. 325, c. 19; Athan. adv. Arianos, ii. 43. See Hefele, i. 411.

Aurelian's impartial decision in the case of Paul was not, however, prompted by any favourable disposition towards the gospel. The emperor was A.D. 270- deeply devoted to the pagan system, and 275. most especially to the worship of the sun, of which his mother had been a priestess.<sup>o</sup> He regarded the Christians with contempt ;<sup>p</sup> and, notwithstanding the restraints imposed on him by the measures A.D. 275. of Gallienus, he had issued an order for a persecution, in token of gratitude to the gods for his success in war, when, before the document could be generally circulated, he was assassinated in his camp.<sup>q</sup>

It appears to have been during the reign of Aurelian, and probably about the year 270, that Manes began to publish his opinions in Persia.<sup>r</sup> As to the history of this earlier Mahomet, the Greek and the oriental accounts differ widely from each other. The Greeks<sup>s</sup> trace the heresy to a Saracen merchant named Scythian, who, after having become rich by trading to India, is said to have settled at Alexandria, and to have devised a philosophical system of his own.<sup>t</sup> At his death,<sup>u</sup> which took place in

<sup>o</sup> Vopiscus, 4 ; Gibbon, i. 324.

<sup>p</sup> Vopisc. 20 ; Mosh. 559.

<sup>q</sup> Euseb. vii. 30 ; Lactantius (?) de Mortibus Persecutorum, 6 ; Pagi, iii. 186-8 ; Mosh. 358-60 ; Gibbon, i. 572-3, with Guizot's note.

<sup>r</sup> See Gibbon, ii. 185 ; Clinton, A.D. 261, 272. Manes was probably born about 240. Beausobre, i. 122 ; Burton, ii. 408.

<sup>s</sup> The chief source of this account is the report of the disputation between Archelaus and Manes, which may be found in Zacagni's 'Collectanea Monumentorum' (Rome, 1798), or in Routh's 'Reliquiæ,' vol. v. The genuineness of the book is much questioned, and seemingly with reason, as by Beausobre, i. 108-12, 129-54. See Mosh.

729 ; Burton ii. 410 ; Neand. ii. 165 ; Milman, ii. 328. Beausobre (i. 153) and Mosheim (l. c.) date the composition about 330. Heraclian, bishop of Chalcedon, referred the authorship to one Hegemonius (Phot. Bibl. cod. 85). See Zacagni's preface.

<sup>t</sup> The Disputation (51) and Epiphanius (xvi. 2) place Scythian in the apostolic age, which is clearly inconsistent with the other dates of the story.

<sup>u</sup> Disput. 52. Epiphanius (c. 3), unsupported by earlier authority, says that he was thrown from a housetop by demons—the same death which is ascribed to Terebinth—and that Terebinth, instead of returning to his master's widow (who is said by Epiphanius

Palestine, his manuscripts,<sup>v</sup> with the rest of his property, fell to his servant Terebinth, who, in order to obtain a more favourable field for the propagation of his doctrines, went into Persia, where he assumed the name of Buddas.<sup>x</sup> He was, however, beaten in disputation by the priests of the national religion; and while engaged in incantations on the roof of his house, he was thrown headlong and killed by an angel or a demon.<sup>y</sup> On this, a widow with whom he had lodged, and who had been his only convert, buried the body and took possession of his wealth; she bought a boy seven years old, named Cubricus, or Corbicius, liberated him, bestowed on him a learned education, and, dying when he had reached the age of twelve, left him heir to all that she possessed. Cubricus assumed the name of Manes,<sup>z</sup> and, after an interval of nearly half a

to have resembled the first heresiarch's Helena in character, while the author of the Disputation is content to describe her as a captive), ran off with Scythian's money and MSS. into Persia. See Beausob. i. 50-2.

<sup>v</sup> Some ascribe the authorship of these MSS., which consisted of four books, to Scythian, others to Terebinth (Beausob. i. 46). The words of the Disputation—"qui [Terebinthus] scripsit ei [Scythiano] quatuor libros"—seem to mean that they were written by Terebinth at his master's dictation.

<sup>x</sup> Disput. 52; Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. vi. 23. Beausobre (i. 54) says that this was merely a translation of his Greek name—*Boutam* or *Boutema* being Chaldæan for the *terebinth*-tree. So too Lassen, 'Indische Alterthumskunde,' iii. 407.

<sup>y</sup> Disput. 52; Cyrill. Hierosol. vi. 23. See Beausobre for the various accounts. i. 59. Professor Lassen thinks that Scythian is an imaginary person, and that Terebinth was the real originator of Manichæism. (iii.

406-7.) Comp. Baur, 'Manich. Religions-System,' 462.

<sup>z</sup> In allusion (it is said) to his eloquence—the word signifying in Persian *speech* or *discourse* (Cyrill. vi. 24). Epiphanius says that the word meant in Babylonian a *vessel* or *instrument* (σκεῦος), but that he was providentially led to choose a name which in Greek signified *madness*. (lxvi. 6; cf. Cyrill. l. c.; Titus, bishop of Bostra [about A.D. 360], in Canisius, i. 60.) "Soit pour éviter cette fâcheuse allusion," says Tillemont, "soit simplement pour donner à son nom une terminaison Grecque, ses sectateurs l'appelaient *Manichée*, et ils prétendaient signifier par ce nom qu'il *répandait* [χέω *fundo*] la *manne* d'une doctrine céleste" (iv. 383. Cf. Aug. de Hæres. 46, init.; c. Faust. xix. 21). Another interpretation of the name represents it as meaning *comforter*. (See Beausobre, i. 65-74; Suicer, s. v. *παράκλητος*.) Professor Lassen says that it unquestionably comes from the old Persian *manich*, i.e. *spirit*. iii. 405.

century,<sup>a</sup> as to which no details are given, appeared at the Persian court, carrying with him the books of Scythian, which he had interpolated with "anile fables," and claimed as his own productions. He undertook to cure a son of king Sapor of a dangerous sickness, and, having failed in the attempt, was cast into prison.<sup>b</sup> While he was in confinement, two of his disciples, whom he had sent out on missions, returned, and reported that they had found Christians the most impracticable class of all with whom they had argued. On this Manes procured the Christian Scriptures,<sup>c</sup> and adopted much from them into his system, styling himself the apostle of Christ, and the Paraclete.<sup>d</sup> He escaped from prison, and opened a communication with Marcellus, an eminent and pious Christian of Cascara, whose influence he was anxious to secure for the recommendation of his doctrine.<sup>e</sup> The bishop of the place, Archelaus, however, won over his envoy, Tyrbo, and from him and others discovered the doctrines of the sect, with the history of its origin.<sup>f</sup> Archelaus vanquished the heresiarch in conferences at Cascara and Diodoris; and Manes soon after again fell into the hands of the Persian king, by whose order he was flayed alive.<sup>g</sup>

A. D. 277.

According to the oriental statements, on the other hand, Mani was a Persian, of the magian or sacerdotal caste,

<sup>a</sup> "Effectus igitur puer ille annorum prope sexaginta" (Disput. 53). The Vatican MS. reads "septuaginta."

<sup>b</sup> Disp. 53. Mosheim suggests that this part of the story may have arisen from misunderstanding of a Persian allegory; that the prince's disease was *ignorance*,—that Mani was employed as his *tutor*, and that by the pupil's death is meant his *perversion from the religion of Zoroaster*! Thus Mosheim would account for the favour shown to the heresiarch by Hormisdas, whom he supposes to have been the prince in

question. 739-740.

<sup>c</sup> In order to obtain a copy, his disciples had to pretend that they were Christians. Disp. 54.

<sup>d</sup> Ib. 13, 54; Cyrill. vi. 25. St. Augustine speaks of these titles as equivalent. De Hæres. 46, t. viii. 38; c. Epist. Fundamenti, 7.

<sup>e</sup> Disp. 1-5. It is disputed whether Cascara here means Cashgar or Carthæ. See Beausob. i. 137, seqq., 191 Routh, Rel. Sac. v. 19, 20, 25.

<sup>f</sup> Disp. 6.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 55.

and possessed an extraordinary variety of accomplishments.<sup>h</sup> He embraced Christianity, and is said by one authority<sup>i</sup> to have been a presbyter in the church before he formed his peculiar scheme of doctrine. Having been imprisoned by Sapor on account of his opinions, he escaped, travelled in India and China, and at length retired into a cave in Turkestan, telling his disciples that he was about to ascend into heaven, and that at the end of a year he would meet them again at a certain place.<sup>k</sup> The interval was employed in elaborating his system, and, on his reappearance, he produced the book of a new revelation, adorned with symbolical pictures by his own hand.<sup>l</sup> After the death of Sapor he returned

A.D. 272. to the Persian court, where he was well received by Hormisdas, and made a convert of him; but within less than two years he lost his royal patron. The next king, Varanes, at first treated him with favour, but was soon gained over by his enemies; he

A.D. 277. invited him to dispute with the magians, and on their declaring Mani a heretic, caused him to be put to death—whether by flaying, crucifixion, or sawing asunder, is uncertain.<sup>m</sup>

Although Manichæism in many points resembled some of the gnostic systems, the likeness did not arise from any direct connection, but from the Persian element which it had in common with gnosticism.<sup>n</sup> Manes was not influenced either by Jewish traditions or by Greek philosophy; but, in addition to the Zoroastrian and the Chris-

<sup>h</sup> Beausob. i. 157.

<sup>i</sup> See Mosh. 737.

<sup>k</sup> Beausob. i. 187. Lassen disbelieves the story of his travels.

<sup>l</sup> Beausob. i. 190.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. 205; Mosh. 733-740; Beausob. i. 167-170; Baur, 431. Dean Milman endeavours to harmonize the eastern and western stories. (ii. 327.) Lassen

says that the oriental accounts are of the Mahometan time, and are untrustworthy. iii. 407.

<sup>n</sup> Tillem. iv. 368; Schröckh, iv. 418; Neand. ii. 157-8. Yet if there be any truth in the derivation of the system from Scythian of Alexandria, a connexion with gnosticism is traced Matter, ii. 73.



tian sources from which his scheme was partly derived, it has been supposed that in the completion of it he drew largely from the doctrines of Buddhism,<sup>o</sup> with which (if the account of his eastern travels be rejected) it appears that he might have become acquainted in his native country.<sup>p</sup>

The deliverance of Persia from the Parthian yoke by Artaxerxes had been followed by a reformation of the national religion.<sup>q</sup> The belief in one A.D. 227. supreme being, anterior to the opposite powers of light and darkness or of good and evil, had been established, and a persecution had been carried on against those who maintained the original and independent existence of Ormuzd and Ahriman.<sup>r</sup> This system of pure dualism, however, was taken up by Manes. He held that there were two principles, eternally opposed to each other, and presiding respectively over the realms of light and darkness. To the former the name of God properly belonged; the latter, although the Manichees admitted that in some sense he too might be styled God (as St. Paul speaks of "the God of this world"<sup>s</sup>), was more rightly named

<sup>o</sup> See Baur, 434, seqq.; Neand. ii. 159, seqq.; Milman, ii. 322-5; Pusey, in Transl. of St. Augustine's Confessions (Oxf. 1838), 314-15; Matter, iii. 77. The *Buddas* of the Greek story is supposed to have originated in a misunderstanding of some legend as to Buddha, and this conjecture is favoured by the statement that he pretended to have been, like Buddha (Hieron. adv. Jovinian. i. 42; Baur, 441), born of a virgin. (Disp. 52; Neand. ii. 160; Milm. ii. 325.) On the other hand, Gieseler (I. i. 304-5) refers to Schneckenburger as having disproved Baur's theory. Beausobre (i. 57) supposes that Terebinth did not pretend to have been born of a virgin, but that the story of the eastern Bud-

dha was wrongly transferred to him. See Baur, 463.

<sup>p</sup> See Lassen, iii. 408-415.

<sup>q</sup> Beausob. i. 165.

<sup>r</sup> See *ib.*, 175; Gibbon, c. viii.; Milman, ii. 310-14; Giesel. I. i. 304-5; Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 356, 650.

<sup>s</sup> II Cor. iv. 4; Faustus ap. Aug. c. Faust. xxi. 1. Faustus denies that the demon was really regarded as God, but Augustine will not admit his distinction. It would seem that, by the time of Augustine, Manichæism had been developed by being carried out into minute detail, and by being rested on an elaborate misconception of Scripture.

Demon or Matter (ὕλη). These powers were independent of each other; but God was the superior.<sup>1</sup> God consisted of pure light, infinitely more subtle than that of our world, and without any definite bodily shape;<sup>u</sup> the demon had a gross material body.<sup>x</sup> Each realm was composed of five elements, which were peopled by beings of kindred natures; and, while the inhabitants of the world of light lived in perfect love and harmony, those of the world of darkness were continually at strife among themselves.<sup>y</sup> In one of their wars, the defeated party fled to the lofty mountains which bounded the two worlds; thence they descried the realm of light, whose existence had before been unknown to them; and forthwith all the powers of darkness, laying aside their internal discords, united to invade the newly-discovered region.<sup>z</sup> God then produced from himself a being called Mother of Life, and from her one named Primal Man, whom he armed with the five good elements, and sent forth to combat against the powers of evil.<sup>a</sup> The invaders, however, were prevailing, when, at the prayer of Primal Man, God sent forth Living Spirit, by whom they were driven out, and Primal Man was rescued; although not until the powers of darkness had swallowed "a portion of his armour, which is the living soul."<sup>b</sup> To this part, thus enchained in the bondage of matter, was given the name of Passible Jesus;<sup>c</sup> and thenceforth it was the object of the spirits of

<sup>t</sup> Disp. 7; Tit. Bostr. p. 87; Epiphani. lxvi. 14; Theodoret, Hær. iii. 26, p. 213, d; Beausob. i. 175-9, 489; Mosh. 755, 765, 774; Ritter, v. 155-6.

<sup>u</sup> Manes ap. Aug. c. Epist. Fundam. 16, 19; Beausob. i. 469; Baur, 14. 23.

<sup>x</sup> Aug. Confess. v. 20; De Genesi adv. Manich. i. 27-8; Baur, 78.

<sup>y</sup> Disp. 7; Aug. c. Epist. Fundam. 4. 31; Tit. Bostr. pp. 68, 70-2, 87; Mosh. 759-60; Pusey, 318.

<sup>z</sup> Tit. Bostr. pp. 72, 90; Theodoret, Hær. i. 26.

<sup>a</sup> Disp. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Ἐφαγον ἐκ τῆς πανοπλίας αὐτοῦ, ὃ ἐστὶν ἡ ψυχὴ.

<sup>c</sup> Tit. Bostr. p. 92. See Mosh. 788-9, 796, 798-9; Neand. ii. 172-6; Matter, iii. 82. Beausobre (ii. 554), Mosheim (796), and Baur (72) think that St. Augustine confounded the *Jesus patibilis* with the *Christ* of the system.

darkness to detain the heavenly particles which they had absorbed, while God was bent on effecting their deliverance.<sup>d</sup> In order to their gradual emancipation, Living Spirit, by the command of God, framed our world out of materials in which the elements of light and darkness had become commingled during the late struggle.<sup>e</sup> The powers of darkness produced children; their prince, by devouring these, concentrated in himself the particles of heavenly essence which were diffused through their bodies;<sup>f</sup> and he employed the materials thus obtained in the formation of man, moulded after the image of the heavenly Primal Man. Adam was therefore a microcosm, including in himself all the elements of both kingdoms, having a soul of light and one of darkness, with a body which was material, and therefore necessarily evil.<sup>g</sup> With a view of retaining him in bondage, his maker forbade him to eat of the tree of knowledge; but Christ or an angel, in the form of the serpent, instructed him—he ate and was enlightened.<sup>h</sup> The Demon produced Eve, and, although God put into her a portion of heavenly light, it was not strong enough to master her evil tendencies. She tempted Adam to sensual pleasure; disregarding the commands of God, who had charged him to restrain, by means of his higher soul, the desires of his lower soul and of his body, he yielded and fell; the particles of heavenly

<sup>d</sup> Tit. Bostr. p. 81.

<sup>e</sup> Disp. 7; Mosh. 811, 823; Baur, 133. That the formation of the world was supposed to have preceded that of man, see Baur, 121, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> So in the Hesiodic theogony, "when Metis [*Wisdom*, the first wife of Zeus] was on the point of being delivered of Athene, he swallowed her up, and her wisdom and sagacity thus became permanently identified with his own being." Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, ed. 2. i. 13.

<sup>g</sup> Man. ap. Aug. de Nat. Boni, 46;

Disp. 7, 10, 14; Tillem. iv. 368; Mosh. 178-82; Matter, iii. 85-6; Baur, 138, seqq. Against the doctrine of the two souls see Aug. de Duabus Animabus. Baur differs somewhat from the usual view here. 162, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> Aug. de Hæres. 40 (col. 37); c. Faust. i. 3; xxii. 49; Neander, ii. 183. This reversal of the parts of God and Satan in the temptation has already come before us in Gnosticism (p. 55). Tyrbo says that the tree of knowledge was Jesus himself. Disp. 10.

light became yet further enthralled to matter; and, as the race of man continued, it deteriorated more and more from generation to generation.<sup>1</sup>

God had produced out of himself two beings of pure light—Christ and the Holy Spirit—whose office it was to help in the deliverance of mankind. Christ dwelt by his power in the sun, and by his wisdom in the moon—which were therefore to be worshipped, not as deities, but as *his* habitations; the Holy Spirit dwelt in the air.<sup>k</sup> The world was supported by a mighty angel, who from his office was called in Greek Omophoros (bearer on shoulders); and the frequent signs of impatience exhibited by this being (whose movements were the cause of earthquakes) hastened the coming of Christ in human form.<sup>1</sup> As the evil nature of matter rendered it unsuitable that the Saviour should have a material body, his humanity was represented by Manes after the docetic fashion; it was supposed that he appeared suddenly among the Jews (for the narrations as to his birth and early years were rejected), and that his acts and sufferings were only in appearance.<sup>m</sup> The object of his mission was to give enlightenment—to teach men their heavenly origin, and urge them to strive after the recovery of bliss, overcoming their body and their evil soul;<sup>n</sup> to deliver them from the blindness of Judaism and other false religions. No idea of atonement could enter into the system, since the divine soul was incapable of guilt, and the lower soul was incapable of salvation.<sup>o</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Disp. 10; Aug. de Mor. Manich. 73; Man. ap. Aug. Op. Imperf. c. Julian. 186; Mosh. 809, 811-12; Neand. ii. 183-6; Matter, iii. 87; Baur, 152, seqq.

<sup>k</sup> Aug. c. Faust. xx. 2; Mosh. 775, 777-80, 785; Pusey, 325.

<sup>1</sup> Disp. 7; Epiphan. lxvi. 22. Augustine also speaks of a being with six faces, named Splenditenens, who was

supposed to hold the world suspended C. Faust. xv. 3-6. See Baur, 79.

<sup>m</sup> Disp. 7, 47, 50; Alexander Lycopolit. de Placitis Manich. 24 (Patrol. Gr. xviii.); Aug. c. Faust. ii. 1; iii. 1; xxvi. 1-2.

<sup>n</sup> Fortunatus ap. Aug. Acta Disp. 20; Baur, 243, seqq.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. 827-8, 830 1, 833, 840

The particles of celestial life which had been absorbed by the kingdom of matter—the “Passible Jesus”—were not in man only, but in the lower animals<sup>p</sup> and in vegetables—“hanging” (it was said) “on every tree.”<sup>q</sup> From their abodes in the sun, the moon, and the air, Christ and the Spirit act in the work of disengaging these particles; it is by *their* operation that herbs burst forth from the ground, striving towards their kindred light, while the powers of darkness, whom the Living Spirit, after his victory, had crucified in the stars, thence exert baleful influences on the earth.<sup>r</sup> Animal and even vegetable life was therefore sacred for the Manichæans, who believed that vegetables had the same feelings of pain as mankind.<sup>s</sup> The elect (the highest class in the community) might not even pluck a leaf or a fruit with their own hands; when about to eat bread, it is said that they thus addressed it:—“It was not I who reaped, or ground, or baked thee; may they who did so be reaped, and ground, and baked in their turn!”<sup>t</sup> While the elect ate, the particles of divine essence contained in their food were set free: thus, says St. Augustine, did Manes make man the saviour of Christ.<sup>u</sup> But the effect of other men’s eating was to confine the heavenly particles in the bonds of

Neand. ii. 186-7; Pusey, 322-7; Matter, iii. 88-90.

<sup>p</sup> Minute insects, however, were excepted, as being too small to contain the heavenly particles. (Aug. de Moribus Manich. 63-4.) It would seem that the practical inconvenience of respecting *such* lives had a share in producing this part of the creed. (Aug. c. Adimant. xii. 2.) The Buddhist lamas are forbidden to destroy vermin—a prohibition which is generally connected with the belief in the metempsychosis, although some of the more enlightened trace it to the inconsistency of all killing with the mildness of

character which becomes “men of prayer.” Huc, ‘Voyage dans la Tartarie,’ Paris, 1850, i. 236-7.

<sup>q</sup> Aug. c. Faust. ii. 5; xxi. 2, 11; De Mor. Man. 39; De Nat. Boni, 44; Baur, 74-5. This was a reference to the crucifixion.

<sup>r</sup> Disp. 7; Aug. de Mor. Man. 36-7.

<sup>s</sup> Aug. de Hæres. 46, col. 37.

<sup>t</sup> Disp. 9; Cyrill. Hierosol. Catech. vi. 33; Epiph. lxvi. 53; Aug. de Mor. Man. 57; Theod. Hær. i. 26 (p. 214b).

<sup>u</sup> “Christum, non jam salvatorem vestrum, sed a vobis salvandum,” etc. C. Faust. ii. 5. Cf. Adv. Hær. 46, col. 25; Pusey, 336-7.

matter ; and hence it was inferred that, although a Manichæan might relieve a beggar with money, it would be impious to give him food.<sup>x</sup>

It was taught that the natural man, born after the flesh, was not the work of God ; but the new man, the believer, who, in St. Paul's words, "after God is created in righteousness and true holiness."<sup>y</sup> By those who should obey the precepts of Christ and of Manes, the evil elements of their nature would at length be shaken off ; but, although penitence atoned for sin, the work of purgation could not be finished in this life. The sun and the moon were "two ships" for the conveyance of the elect souls to bliss. On leaving the body such souls were transferred to the sun by the revolution of a vast wheel<sup>1</sup> with twelve buckets ; the sun, after purging them by his rays, delivered them over to the moon, where they were for fifteen days to undergo a further cleansing by water ; and they were then to be received into the primal light.<sup>z</sup> The less sanctified souls were to return to earth in other forms—some of them after undergoing intermediate tortures.<sup>a</sup> Their new forms were to be such as would subject them to retribution for the misdeeds of their past life,<sup>b</sup> so that one who had killed any animal would be changed into a creature of the same kind, while those who had reaped, or ground, or baked, were themselves to become wheat, and to undergo the like operations ;<sup>c</sup> and thus the purgation of souls was to be

<sup>x</sup> Aug. de Mor. Man. 51-3.

<sup>y</sup> (Ephes. iv. 24) ; Faustus, ap. Aug. c. Faust. xxiv. 1.

<sup>z</sup> Disp. 8 ; Tit. Bostr. pp. 69, 136, seqq. ; Theodor. Hær. i. 26 (p. 213c). These authorities do not, however, altogether agree. The changes in the moon's appearance were explained by its receiving and discharging the freights of souls (Disp. 8). The twelve

buckets are supposed to mean the signs of the zodiac (Baur, 295). For the strange tenets of the Manichæans as to the intercourse of spirits in the air, see Disp. 8, p. 56 ; Aug. de Natura Boni, 44.

<sup>a</sup> Disp. 10.

<sup>b</sup> This was part of the Buddhist system. Lassen, ii. 10.

<sup>c</sup> Disp. 9.



carried on in successive migrations until they should become fitted to enter into the bliss of the elect.<sup>d</sup> When this world should have completed its course, it would be burnt into an inert mass, to which those souls which had chosen the service of evil would be chained, while the powers of darkness would be for ever confined to their own dismal region.<sup>e</sup>

Manes represented the Old Testament as a work of the powers of darkness. He attacked its morality and its representations of God, dwelt on its alleged inconsistency with the New Testament, and denied that it prophesied of Christ.<sup>f</sup> The gospel, it was said, was intended chiefly for gentiles; and on them the Jewish prophets could have no claim, insomuch that it would be more reasonable for gentiles to listen to the oracles of the Sibyl or of Hermes Trismegistus; <sup>g</sup> those who should give heed to the prophets would die eternally.<sup>h</sup> Christ had left his revelation imperfect, promising to send the Paraclete for its completion; and St. Paul had spoken (I Cor. xiii. 4) of the further knowledge which was thus to be given. The promise, according to Manes, was fulfilled in himself; <sup>i</sup> but, in claiming to be the Paraclete, he did not imply the full blasphemy which such a pretension suggests to a Christian mind.<sup>k</sup> He rejected the Acts of the Apostles as opposed to his doctrine on this

<sup>d</sup> Mosh. 859-69; Neand. ii. 177.

<sup>e</sup> Disp. 11; Ep. Fundamenti, quoted by the author of the treatise 'De Fide adv. Manichæos,' c. 5. in Append. to vol. viii. of St. Augustine (Patrol. xlii.).

<sup>f</sup> Disp. 10, 11, 46. On the rejection of the prophecies see Aug. c. Faust. xii. The text in which our Lord says that Moses wrote of him (St. John, v. 46) was also rejected (ibid. xvi. 1-8). The objections to the Old Testament are discussed at great length in the xxii<sup>nd</sup> book of the same treatise. See too

Beausob. pt. II. l. i. c. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Faustus ap. Aug. c. Faust. xiii. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Disp. 13.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. 26-8; Epiph. lxvi. 61; Theodor. Hær. i. 26 (p. 214c). The Manichæan Felix says that he believes in the Paraclete, because He had taught things which the apostles did not know, as "the beginning, the middle, and the end." Aug. Acta c. Felice, i. 9.

<sup>k</sup> Baur, 471-2. Beausobre (i. 264-7) denies that he made such a claim at all.

subject;<sup>1</sup> he declared the Gospels to be the work of unknown persons who lived long after the apostolic times,<sup>m</sup> and also to be much adulterated, so that he might assume the right of correcting them after his own fancy;<sup>n</sup> and he set aside such other portions of the New Testament as were inconsistent with his scheme.<sup>o</sup> The sect relied on some apocryphal Gospels and other forgeries of a like kind,<sup>p</sup> but their chief sources of belief were the writings of the founder;<sup>q</sup> and they claimed the liberty of interpreting the New Testament in accordance with the teaching of their Paraclete, in like manner as the orthodox interpreted the older Scriptures by the light of the Christian revelation.<sup>r</sup> They denounced the idea of symbolism in religion,<sup>s</sup> and made it their especial boast that their opinions were agreeable to reason—that their converts were emancipated from the bondage of authority and faith.<sup>t</sup>

The Manichæans were divided into elect and hearers. The former class professed a high degree of ascetic sanctity. They were bound by the “three seals”—“of the mouth, of the hand, and of the bosom;”<sup>u</sup> they were to live in poverty, celibacy, and abstinence; they were not allowed even to gather the fruits of the earth for themselves, but were supported and served by the hearers, who were obliged by the fear of the severest

<sup>1</sup> Aug. c. Felic. i. 14; De Utilitate Credendi, 7; c. Adimant. xvii. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Aug. c. Faust. xxii. 2.

<sup>n</sup> Tit. Bostr. p. 139.

<sup>o</sup> Baur, 384.

<sup>p</sup> Aug. de. Hæres. 46, col. 38: adv. Faust. xxii. 79. The forged writings were in part the same which had been used by some of the Gnostics. See Beausob. pt. II. l. i. c. 7; l. ii. cc. 1-6.

<sup>q</sup> Beausob. pt. II. l. ii. c. 7; Mosh. 742-3, 746 749-53, 825, 830-1; Neand. ii. 189.

<sup>\*</sup> Aug. c. Faust. xxxii. 6.

<sup>s</sup> Ibid. xv. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Aug. de. Util. Credendi, i. 2, 21. Pusey, 326-7.

<sup>u</sup> Aug. de Mor. Manich. 10, seqq. Baur, 249, seqq. “Quum os nomino, omnes sensus, qui sunt in capite, intelligi volo; quum autem manum, omnem operationem—[the Oriental notion of an entire abstinence from active occupation (Ritter, v. 171-2)]—quum sinum, omnem libidinem seminale.” l. c. 10.

punishments after death to supply all their necessities.<sup>v</sup> The hearers were not subject to such rigid rules : although forbidden to kill animals, they were allowed to eat flesh<sup>x</sup> and to drink wine, to marry, and to engage in the usual occupations of life.<sup>y</sup> At a later time, charges of hypocrisy and gross sensuality were freely brought against the Manichæans, notwithstanding their pale and mortified appearance ; nor do these charges appear to have been without substantial foundation.<sup>z</sup>

The Manichæan hierarchy consisted of a chief, twelve masters, and seventy-two bishops, with priests and deacons under them.<sup>a</sup> The worship of the sect, simple and naked<sup>b</sup> agreeably to its Persian origin,<sup>c</sup> was in many points studiously opposed to that of the church—as in the rejection or disregard of the Christian festivals,<sup>d</sup> and in observing the Lord's day as a fast.<sup>e</sup> The anniversary of the heresiarch's death, in the month of March, was the great festival of their year, and was known by the name of *Bema*.<sup>f</sup> In prayer the Manichæans turned towards the sun.<sup>g</sup> The hearers were allowed to listen to the reading of Manes' books, but did not receive any explanation of their meaning ;<sup>h</sup> the worship of the elect was shrouded in mystery, which naturally gave rise to rumours of abominable rites.<sup>i</sup> St. Augustine, after having been nine years a hearer, could only state that the

<sup>v</sup> Disp. 9 ; Aug. de Hæres. 46, col.

37.

<sup>x</sup> Among the Buddhists it is unlawful for the lamas to kill any animal ; but they may freely eat of those which are killed by the "black men" or laity. (Huc, i. 341.) Manes, it will be observed, carried the restriction lower.

<sup>y</sup> Aug. Ep. ccxxxvi. 2 ; c. Faust. xx.

23.

<sup>z</sup> Aug. de Mor. Manich. 20-1 ; Tillem. iv. 374-5. 377 ; Mosh. 846, 899 ; Pusey, 331 2.

<sup>a</sup> Aug. de Hæres. 46, col. 38. See

Baur, 297-304.

<sup>b</sup> Faust. ap. Aug. c. Faust. xx. 3.

<sup>c</sup> See Pressensé, i. 50.

<sup>d</sup> Augustine says that they paid little regard to Easter, because they did not believe the reality of the Saviour's death. C. Ep. Fundam. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. l.p. xxxvi. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Aug. c. Epist. Fundam. 9 ; c. Faust. xviii. 5.

<sup>g</sup> Aug. c. Fortunatum, 3.

<sup>h</sup> Aug. c. Ep. Fundam. 6.

<sup>i</sup> Aug. Hær. 46, col. 36.

eucharist was celebrated among the elect; of the manner of administration he had been unable to learn anything,<sup>k</sup> although, as the principles of the Manichæans forbade them to use wine, he taunts them with "acknowledging their God in the grape, and refusing to acknowledge him in the cup."<sup>l</sup> Baptism is supposed to have been administered with oil; that with water was held indifferent, if it was not forbidden.<sup>m</sup>

Manichæism soon spread into the west. Its appearance in proconsular Africa, within a few years after the founder's death, is attested by an edict of Diocletian,<sup>n</sup> which condemns the doctrine, not as Christian, but as coming from the hostile kingdom of Persia. This document orders that the teachers and their books should be burnt; that the disciples should be sent to the mines, or, if persons of rank, should be banished; and that in either case their property should be seized. But two centuries later (as we learn from St. Augustine) the sect was numerous in Italy and in Africa, where some of its secret members were even among the clergy of the church.<sup>o</sup> Notwithstanding frequent and severe edicts of the Christian emperors, Manichæism continued to exist, and we shall have frequent occasion to notice it hereafter among the heresies of the middle ages.<sup>p</sup>

The persecuting edict of Aurelian was revoked by his successor Tacitus; and for many years the church was undisturbed by the secular power. In the reign of Dio-

<sup>k</sup> Aug. Hær. 46, col. 36.

<sup>l</sup> "In cupa." C. Faust. xx. 13.

<sup>m</sup> Aug. de Hæres. 46, col. 38; ad. Bonifac. ii. 3; Bayle, art. *Manichéens*, note B.; Mosh. 886; Neand. ii. 193; Giesel. I. i. 300. Baur thinks that baptism, whether with oil or by mere imposition of hands, was the form of initiation for the elect. 278.

<sup>n</sup> Giesel. I. i. 311. It is mentioned

by the writer known as Ambrosiaster. (Comm. in II Tim. iii. 7, in Patrol. xvii. 493.) Baronius dates it in 287; Neander (i. 199; ii. 195) and Guericke (i. 290) in 296. Gieseler (I. i. 311) gives 287 as the date, but with a mark of doubt.

<sup>o</sup> Aug. Ep. 236; Tillem. iv. 402-4.

<sup>p</sup> Matter, iii. 95.

cletian it had attained a degree of prosperity exceeding that of any former time. Its buildings began to display architectural splendour, and were furnished with sacred vessels of silver and gold. Converts flocked in from all ranks ; even the wife of the emperor, and his daughter Valeria, who was married to his colleague Galerius, appear to have been among the number. Christians held high offices in the state and in the imperial household. Provincial governments were entrusted to them, with a privilege of exemption from all such duties as might be inconsistent with their religion.<sup>a</sup> With these advances in temporal well-being, the contemporary historian<sup>r</sup> laments that there had been a decay of faith and love ; that hypocrisy and ambition had crept in ; that pastors and people alike were distracted by jealousies and dissensions. But it has been well observed that the very offences which now appeared in the church are a token of progress, since it is the “strongest proof of the firm hold of a party, whether religious or political, upon the public mind, when it may offend with impunity against its own primary principles. That which at one time is a sign of incurable weakness, or approaching dissolution, at another seems but the excess of healthful energy, and the evidence of unbroken vigour.”<sup>s</sup>

It was in the year 284 that Diocletian assumed the purple. In 286 he admitted Maximian to share the empire, as Augustus ; and in 292 Galerius and Constantius were associated in the government, with the inferior title of Cæsars.<sup>t</sup> Disregarding the republican forms under which the imperial power had hitherto been veiled, Diocletian assumed the state of an eastern monarch,<sup>u</sup> established a new system of administration,

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. viii. 1 ; Gibbon, i. 575.

<sup>r</sup> Euseb. l. c.      <sup>s</sup> Milman, ii. 261.

<sup>t</sup> Gibbon, i. 362-3.

<sup>u</sup> Eutropius, ix. 26 ; De Mortib. Persec. 7 ; Euseb. Chron. A.D. 296, ap. Hieron. viii. 661.

with offices and titles of a pomp before unknown among the Romans, and removed his court from Rome to Nicomedia, on the Asiatic shore of the Propontis. The ancient capital ceased to be the centre of government; the senate sank into insignificance and neglect.<sup>x</sup> In the partition of the empire, Diocletian reserved for himself Thrace, the Asiatic provinces, and Egypt; Maximian, whose residence was at Milan, received Italy and Africa; Galerius had Illyria and the countries on the Danube; while Gaul, Spain, and Britain were assigned to Constantius.<sup>y</sup>

The priests and others who were interested in the maintenance of the pagan system began to apprehend that they might lose their hold on the empire. Diocletian was indifferent as to religion, while Constantius openly favoured the Christians;<sup>z</sup> and, although Maximian and Galerius were hostile to Christianity, yet it may have seemed possible that the Cæsar might be influenced by his Christian wife. Attempts were therefore made to work on the superstitious feelings of Diocletian by means of omens and oracles. On one occasion, when Apollo was consulted in his presence, the answer was given, not, as was usual, through the priest, but by the god himself, in a hollow voice which issued from the depths of the cave—that, on account of the righteous who were on the earth, the oracles were restrained from answering truly; and, in reply to Diocletian's inquiries, the priests explained that these words pointed at the Christians.<sup>a</sup> At another time, when the emperor was with his army in the east, it was announced that the entrails of the victims did not exhibit the usual marks by which the future

<sup>x</sup> Gibbon, i. 388-9; Gfrörer, ii. 3-9.

<sup>y</sup> Gibbon, i. 364. <sup>z</sup> Mosh. 911-13

<sup>a</sup> Eusebius (Vit. Const. ii. 50-1) relates this on the authority of Constantine.

Mosheim (914) supposes the word *righteous* to be used ironically, as meaning persons who pretended to especial righteousness.



was signified. The sacrifice was several times repeated without any better result; and at last the chief sooth-sayer declared that the presence of profane persons—that is to say, of Christians—was the cause of its failure.<sup>b</sup>

It was in the army that Christians were most especially liable to be noted, and that the first attempts on their fidelity were made.<sup>c</sup> The story of the Theban legion,<sup>d</sup> which is referred to the year 286, although extravagantly fabulous in its details, may possibly have some foundation of truth. This legion, it is said, consisting of 6,600 Christians, was summoned from the east for the service of Maximian in Gaul. When near the Alpine town of Agaunum, which takes its modern name from their leader, St. Maurice, the soldiers discovered that they were to be employed in the persecution of their brethren in the faith, and refused to march onward for such a purpose. By order of Maximian, who was in the neighbourhood, they were twice decimated. But this cruelty was unable to shake the firmness of the survivors; and Maurice, in the name of his comrades, declared to the emperor that, while ready to obey him in all things consistent with their duty to God, they would rather die than violate that duty. Maximian, exasperated by their obstinacy, ordered the other troops to close around them; whereupon the devoted band laid down their arms and peacefully submitted to

<sup>b</sup> The Christians had marred the sacrifice by secretly crossing themselves. (De Mortibus Persecutorum, 10.) [The book 'De Mortibus Persecutorum,' bearing the name of *Lucius Cæcilius*, was discovered in MS. by Baluze, who identified it with a work 'De Persecutione,' mentioned by St. Jerome (De VV. Illust. 80) among the writings of *Lucius Calius Firmianus Lactantius*. The title given by St. Jerome is more correct as a description of the contents than the other, and Baluze's conjecture

is most commonly adopted, although it has not been unquestioned. Giesel, I. i. 347; Smith's Dict. of Biography artt. *Cæcilius* and *Lactantius*.]

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. viii. 4; Gibbon, i. 578-9.

<sup>d</sup> Eucherius (bishop of Lyons, about 530) 'Passio Agaunensium Martyrum,' Patol. l. 827, or Acta SS., Sept. 22. See Schröckh, iv. 271-4; Giesel, I. i. 263; Rettberg, i. 94; Gelpke, in Herzog, art. *Mauritius*. The Orientalists maintain the story in all points.

martyrdom. There are other and more authentic records of military confessors and martyrs in the early part of Diocletian's reign; but whatever persecutions or annoyances may have then been experienced by Christian soldiers, it does not appear that any general attempt to force their conscience was made before the year 298, when it was ordered that all persons in military service or in public employment of any kind should offer sacrifice to the gods.<sup>e</sup>

Galerius, during a visit which he paid to Diocletian at Nicomedia in the winter of 302-3, endeavoured to excite the elder emperor against the Christians. For a time Diocletian withstood his importunity—whether sincerely, or only with a wish to gain credit for a show of reluctance, is doubtful. The advice of some lawyers and military officers was then called in (as is said to have been the emperor's custom when he wished to divert from himself the odium of any unpopular measure), and a persecution was decreed.<sup>f</sup> On the 23rd of February—the great Roman festival of the Terminalia,—an attack was made on the church of Nicomedia, which was situated on a height, and overlooked the palace. The heathen functionaries, on entering, found nothing to seize except the copies of the sacred books, which they burnt. It was then proposed to set fire to the building itself; but Diocletian, out of fear that the flames might spread, preferred to give it over to the soldiery for destruction, and by their exertions the church was in a few hours entirely demolished.<sup>g</sup>

Next day the imperial edict was issued. It ordained that all who should refuse to sacrifice should lose their offices, their property, their rank, and civil privileges; that slaves persisting in the profession of the gospel

<sup>e</sup> Baron. 289. 1, and Pagi's note; Gibbon, i. 579-581.

Burton, ii. 421; Neand. i. 203-4.

<sup>g</sup> De Mort. Persec. 12.

<sup>f</sup> De Mort. Persec. 11; Mosh. 920-1.

should be excluded from the hope of liberty;<sup>h</sup> that Christians of all ranks should be liable to torture; that all churches should be razed to the ground; that religious meetings should be suppressed; and that the Scriptures and other service-books should be committed to the flames.<sup>i</sup> No sooner had the edict been publicly displayed, than a Christian, who is described as a man of station, tore it down, uttering at the same time words of insult against the emperors. In punishment of this audacious act, he was roasted at a slow fire, and the stern composure with which he bore his sufferings astonished and mortified his executioners.<sup>k</sup>

Within a fortnight the palace of Nicomedia was twice discovered to be on fire. The cause is unknown;<sup>m</sup> but on the second occasion, at least,<sup>n</sup> the guilt was charged on the Christians. Diocletian was greatly alarmed and incensed. He compelled his wife and daughter to sacrifice, and proceeded to administer the same test to the members of his household and to the inhabitants of the city. Some of the most confidential chamberlains, who were Christians, were put to death, after having endured extreme tortures, and many other Christians, among whom was Anthimus, bishop of Nicomedia,<sup>o</sup> also suffered martyrdom.

<sup>h</sup> This—agreeably to Rufinus' translation—is the interpretation generally put on the words in Eusebius:—*τοὺς ἐν οἰκείαις ἐλευθερίας στερεῖσθαι*. Tillem. v. 19-20; Mosh. 925; Giesel. I. 1. 264.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. viii. 2; De Mort. Pers. 13. Under the words *τὰς γραφὰς*, the service-books were no doubt included.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. viii. 5; De Mort. Persec. 13. Papebroch would identify this martyr with St. George of England! Acta SS., Apr. 23, p. 109.

<sup>m</sup> Some ascribe it to lightning; the author of 'De Mort. Persec.' (14) to the malice of Galerius, who wished to ac-

cuse the Christians. Tillemont (Hist. des Emp. iv. 45) and Mosheim (pp. 930-1) attempt to reconcile these statements by the very improbable supposition that the fire was partly caused by lightning and partly by human agency. Gibbon (i. 583-4) insinuates suspicions against the Christians; but his editor, Dean Milman, remarks that, "had it been done by a Christian, it would probably have been a fanatic, who would have avowed and gloried in it." Comp. Milman, Hist. of Christianity, ii. 277.

<sup>n</sup> See Mosh. 931.

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. viii. 6; De Mort. Persec. 15.

The edict was soon carried into execution throughout the empire. The churches were for the most part demolished ; in some cases the furniture was carried out and burnt, and the buildings were shut up, or were converted to profane uses.<sup>p</sup> The attempt to exterminate the Scriptures was a new feature in this persecution.<sup>q</sup> Many Christians suffered death for refusing to deliver them up, while those who complied were branded by their brethren as *traditors*—a term which we shall have occasion to notice hereafter.<sup>r</sup> As the officials were unable to distinguish the sacred books from other Christian writings, there is reason to believe that, through the confusion, a vast number of precious documents perished, to the irreparable loss of ecclesiastical history.<sup>s</sup> In some cases, however, the destruction of these arose from the forbearance of the authorities, who disliked the task imposed on them, and were willing to accept any books that might be offered, without inquiring whether they were those which the Christians regarded as sacred. Thus, when Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, had withdrawn the copies of the Scriptures from his church, and had placed some heretical writings in their room, the proconsul Anulinus, on being informed of the pious fraud, refused to make any further search.<sup>t</sup> In some cases, indeed, the magistrates even hinted to the Christians that a substitution of this kind would be admitted ; and such connivance was the more remarkable, if it is correct to suppose that negligence in execution of the edict was punishable even with death.<sup>u</sup> But on the other hand, there were governors who gladly seized the opportunity of venting their enmity against the

<sup>p</sup> Gibbon, i. 585-6.

<sup>q</sup> Antiochus Epiphanes had attempted to destroy the Jewish Scriptures. 1 Maccab. i. 56-7.

<sup>r</sup> See the account of the Donatists below, Book II. c. i. sect. ii.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 924.

<sup>t</sup> Augustin. Brevic. Collat. c. Donat iii. 25.

<sup>u</sup> As Mosheim (923) infers from some words of St. Augustine, l. c., 27, 32.

church, and carried on the work of persecution with a severity which exceeded the imperial orders.<sup>x</sup>

Some troubles in Armenia and Syria, which were falsely charged on the Christians, afforded a pretext for a second edict, by which it was ordered that their teachers should be arrested. In consequence of this, as Eusebius informs us, the prisons were filled with bishops and clergy, so that no room could be found for the malefactors by whom they were commonly occupied.<sup>y</sup> By a third edict, issued in the same year which had witnessed the beginning of the persecution, it was directed that the prisoners should be required to sacrifice, and, in case of refusal, should be tortured; and a fourth edict, in the following year, extended this order to Christians of every class.<sup>z</sup> As it was supposed that the victims would be proof against the usual kinds of torture, the judges were charged to invent new and more excruciating torments. Yet no one of these edicts enacted death as a punishment, although through the zeal of officials, and under various pretexts, that punishment was inflicted on multitudes of believers.<sup>a</sup>

On the 1st of May 305, Diocletian abdicated the empire at Nicomedia, and Maximian, in reluctant submission to the influence of his colleague and benefactor, performed a like ceremony of resignation at Milan.<sup>b</sup> Constantius and Galerius now succeeded to the highest dignity, and two new Cæsars, Maximin and Severus, were associated with them. For some years the imperial power was the subject of contentions, changes, and partitions: at one time there were no fewer than six emperors—in the east, Galerius, Maximin, and Licinius; in the west,

<sup>x</sup> Mosh. 933; Neand. i. 208-9.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. viii. 6.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid.; Id. de Martyribus Palæst.

3; Mosh. 929, 934.

<sup>a</sup> Euseb. Vita Constant. ii. 51; Mosh. 938-941; Schröckh, iv. 482.

<sup>b</sup> De Mort. Persec. 18-19; Gibbon, i.

397.

Maximian, who had resumed his power, his son Maxentius, and his son-in-law Constantine, the son and successor of Constantius.<sup>c</sup> Meanwhile the condition of the Christians throughout the empire varied according to the character of its several rulers.

Constantius, while he held the subordinate dignity of Cæsar, destroyed the churches in his dominions, out of deference to the authority of the elder emperors ; but he protected Christians, and entertained many of them in his court.<sup>d</sup> On his elevation to the rank of

A.D. 305. Augustus he befriended them more openly ;<sup>e</sup> and in this policy he was followed by Constantine, who succeeded him in 306, and showed himself yet more decidedly favourable to the Christians.<sup>f</sup>

Galerius persecuted with great zeal until, in the year 311, having found his cruelty utterly ineffectual towards the suppression of the gospel, and feeling himself sinking under a loathsome and excruciating disease, he issued, in his own name and in those of Licinius and Constantine, an edict by which Christians were allowed to exercise their religion and to rebuild their churches, provided that they refrained from doing anything against the discipline of the state ; and he concluded with the remarkable request that they would offer up prayers for his safety.<sup>g</sup> There can be little doubt that in this change of policy the emperor was influenced by other motives than that pity for the perversity of the Christians, and that regard for the unity of his subjects, which were professed in the edict. Perhaps his bodily sufferings may have been aggravated by remorse for the cruelties which he had committed ; or it may have been that, despairing of other

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, i. 404-418.

<sup>d</sup> De Mort. Persec. 15.

<sup>e</sup> Mosheim (252) argues that he issued an edict in their favour ; but see

Schröckh, v. 40.

<sup>f</sup> De Mort. Persec. 24.

<sup>g</sup> Ibid. 33-4 ; Euseb. viii. 17.



relief, he sought to obtain a chance of recovery through the favour of the God of Christians,—regarding him as a power of the same class with the multitude of heathen deities.<sup>h</sup>

In Italy and in Africa the persecution was severe during the reign of Maximian. When his son Maxentius assumed the government of those countries, the Christians, although they suffered from the usurper's tyranny in common with his other subjects, were not molested on account of their religion ; indeed, he even pretended to favour them. For it was now felt that they were an important element in the state, and princes who had no regard for their religion might nevertheless be with reason desirous to secure their political support.<sup>i</sup>

The most violent of all the persecutors was Maximin, who in the year 305 received the sovereignty of Syria and Egypt, and on the death of Galerius added Asia Minor to his dominions. Brutal, ferocious, and ignorant, he was a slave to pagan superstition, and a dupe to priests, soothsayers, and professors of magical arts.<sup>k</sup> Galerius did not venture to include his name in the edict for toleration of the gospel ; but Maximin, although he declined to publish it in his dominions, gave verbal orders to a like effect. At the same time, however, he took measures for restoring the splendour of the heathen worship, and six months later he issued an edict for a renewal of persecution, professing to do so in compliance with petitions from Antioch and other cities,—petitions which, according to the Christian writers of the age, had been instigated by himself.<sup>l</sup> It was required that all his subjects, even to infants at the breast, should offer sacrifice ;

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 957-8 ; Schröckh, v. 45 ; Milman, ii. 285-6.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. viii. 14 ; Mosh. 954 ; Gibbon, i. 422-4, 589 ; Beugnot, i. 45.

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. ix. 9 ; De Mort. Persec. 36 ; Gibbon, i. 591-3.

<sup>l</sup> De Mort. Persec. 36 ; Euseb. ix. 1-2. See Neander, iii. 3-4.

that provisions in the markets should be sprinkled with the libations, and that guards should be placed at the doors of the public baths, with a charge to defile in the same manner those who were about to go forth after having performed their ablutions.<sup>m</sup> Calumny too was employed to discredit the Christian religion. Forged 'Acts of Pilate' were circulated, and were introduced into schools as lesson-books, so that the very children had their mouths filled with blasphemies against the Saviour. Women of the vilest character were suborned to confess abominations of which they pretended to have partaken among the Christians.<sup>n</sup> The edict was engraved on plates of brass, and set up in every city. In it Maximin boasted of the blessings which had followed on his measures for the revival of paganism—success in war, fruitful seasons, immunity from the plagues of earthquake, storm, and sickness.<sup>o</sup> But soon after the renewal of persecution, this boast was signally falsified by the appearance of famine and pestilence, which fearfully wasted his dominions. And in this time of trial, as before on similar occasions, the power of Christian faith and love was admirably manifested. The believers, while they shared in the common visitation, distinguished themselves from the multitude by their behaviour under it, hazarding their lives in ministering to the sick and in burying the dead who were abandoned by their own nearest kindred.<sup>p</sup>

The varieties of torture exercised during the persecution need not be here detailed. On the whole, the Christians endured their sufferings with a noble constancy and patience, although, in addition to the weakness of the traditors, there were some who denied the faith, and others who provoked their death by violent and

<sup>m</sup> Euseb. de Martyribus Palæst. 8.

<sup>o</sup> Ibid. 7.

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. ix. 5-7.

<sup>p</sup> Ibid. 8.

fanatical conduct.<sup>4</sup> The pagans who witnessed their sufferings were at length disgusted by such profusion of bloodshed and cruelty; the persecutors themselves became weary of slaying, and resorted to other punishments—such as mutilation of the limbs, plucking out an eye, employing bishops and other eminent persons in degrading occupations, and sending large numbers of all classes to labour in unwholesome mines.<sup>5</sup>

The persecution altogether lasted ten years, although after the first two it was but little felt in the west. Gibbon, with an evident desire to state as low as possible the number of those who were put to death, reckons them at two thousand;<sup>6</sup> of bodily torments short of death, and of the immense wretchedness of other kinds which must have been experienced by the members of the suffering community during that long period of terror, the historian disdains to take any account whatever.

Among the martyrs, the most celebrated for station <sup>t</sup> or character were—Peter, bishop of Alexandria; <sup>u</sup> Lucian, a

<sup>4</sup> Mosh. 941-2. One form of fanaticism is denounced by the 60th canon of the council of Illiberis (A.D. 305?). “Si quis idola fregerit, et ibidem fuerit occisus; quatenus in evangelio scriptum non est, neque invenitur sub apostolis unquam factum, placuit in numero eum non recipi martyrum.” From the 25th of the same canons, and the 9th canon of Arles (A.D. 314) it would seem that confessors at this time claimed the privilege of granting letters which interfered with the discipline of the church—whether the letters of forgiveness which had been common in St. Cyprian’s day (see p. 164), or (as appears more likely) letters of recommendation to communion, which it was properly the privilege of bishops alone to grant to such members of their flock as were about to visit other churches. The councils order that the letters shall be taken away from the bearers, and

that “litteræ communicatoriæ” shall be given instead of them. Bp. Hefele (i. 137) and others suppose these canons to mean, that, if any one, when about to travel, should ask his bishop to sign a form recommending him as a *confessor*, that title should be erased by the bishop. But this seems an improbable construction.

<sup>5</sup> De Mort. Persec. 36; Euseb. viii. 19; De Mart. Palæst. 10.

<sup>6</sup> i. 596-9. Dean Milman (note, p. 596) remarks on this unfairness.

<sup>t</sup> The martyrdom of Marcellinus, bishop of Rome, and the story of his appearance in the council of Sinuessa, are both unquestionably fabulous. See Hard. i. 217-20; Nat. Alex. vi. Dissert. 20; Tillem. v. 615-16; Dupin, ii. 303; Hefele, i. 119. As to the Roman bishops of this time see De Rossi, Roma Sotterr. II. vi.-x.

<sup>u</sup> Euseb. ix. 6.

presbyter of Antioch, who in early life had been connected with Paul of Samosata, but afterwards returned to the orthodox communion, and distinguished himself by his labours on the Scriptures :<sup>x</sup> Pamphilus, the founder of the library of Cæsarea, celebrated for his zeal in multiplying and correcting copies of the sacred text, for his writings in defence of Origen, and for his intimate friendship with the historian Eusebius ;<sup>y</sup> and Methodius, bishop of Tyre, the opponent of Pamphilus in the Origenistic controversy.<sup>z</sup> In addition to those whose names are recorded in authentic history, a great number of martyrs enjoying a general or a local celebrity are referred to this period<sup>a</sup>—as St. Sebastian and St. Agnes, who are said to have suffered at Rome, and are commemorated by churches and catacombs without the walls of the city ; St. Januarius, of Naples ; SS. Cosmus and Damian, two Arabian brothers, who are said to have suffered in Cilicia, and are regarded as patrons of the medical art ; St. Vincent of Saragossa ; St. Denys (Dionysius) of Paris, St. Clement<sup>b</sup> of Metz, St. Quentin, from whom the capital of the Veromandui takes its modern name, St. Victor of Marseilles, and many others in France ; St. Gereon and his 318 companions, whose relics are shown in a singular and beautiful church at Cologne ;<sup>c</sup> St. George, who is supposed to have suffered at Nicomedia, and is famous as the patron of England. To the earlier part of Diocletian's

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. ; Acta SS., Jan. 7 ; Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 77 ; Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 3-4 ; Herzog, art. *Lucianus*.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. vi. 32 ; vii. 32 ; De Mart. Palæst. 7, 11 ; Hieron. 75 ; Routh, iii. 487.

<sup>z</sup> Hieron. 83 ; Neand. ii. 496-7.

<sup>a</sup> See Greg. Turon. de Gloria Martyrum, l. i. ; Acta SS., *passim* ; Tillem. ii. iv. v.

<sup>b</sup> St. Clement, however, is referred by some (as Chaussier, in Patrol. xcv 673) to the apostolic age. As to the date of the martyrdom of St. Denys, see Tillem. iv. 446.

<sup>c</sup> See Helinand, Passio S. Gereonis (Patrol. ccxci. ; Acta SS., Oct. 10). The story of these martyrs is an offshoot from that of the Theban Legion. Rettberg, i. 101, seqq.

reign, before the edict of 303, belongs the story of the British protomartyr St. Alban.<sup>d</sup>

After his victory over Maxentius, in the end of October 312, Constantine published an edict in favour of the Christians; and by a second, which he issued in conjunction with Licinius, from Milan, in June 313, he established for them, in common with all other subjects of the empire, complete religious freedom,—ordering that the churches and other property of the community should be restored to them, and inviting persons who might suffer by this restitution to seek compensation from the public purse.<sup>e</sup> In consequence of the overthrow of Maximin by Licinius (April 30, 313), the benefits of this edict were speedily extended to the whole empire. The fury of the defeated tyrant, who had vowed that, if victorious, he would exterminate the Christian name,<sup>f</sup> was now turned into an opposite direction; in his despair he put to death many of the priests and soothsayers on whose counsels he had relied, and he proclaimed an entire toleration of the Christians—laying the blame of his former severities against them on the judges and governors, whom he attempted to represent as having misunderstood his intentions. Maximin died miserably at Tarsus in August 313; and in the contrast between the prosperity of the princes who had befriended them and the calamitous ends of their oppressors, the Christians could not but suppose that they discerned tokens of the Divine judgment.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Beda, Hist. Eccl. i. 3. See Had-  
dan-Stubbs, i. 6.

<sup>e</sup> De Mort. Pers. 48; Euseb. x. 5.  
The first edict, which is lost, was defective in some respects, as to which it was amended by the second. But from the obscurity of Constantine's language, it is very doubtful in what the defec-

tiveness of the earlier edict consisted. See Valois' note on Eusebius; Pag. iii. 539; Mosheim, 959; Schröckh, v. 91; Neand. iii. 17-19.

<sup>f</sup> De Mort. Pers. 46.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 49; Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ix. 9-10; Vita Const. i. 57-9; Gibbon, i. 435-6, 595; Milman, ii. 297.

The change in the relations of the Christian community to the imperial power opens a new period in ecclesiastical history.

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## CHAPTER VIII.

### SUPPLEMENTARY.

#### I. *Progress of the Gospel.*

(I.) THERE is reason to believe that, by the end of the third century, the gospel had been made known in some degree to almost all the nations with which the Romans had intercourse, although we have very little information as to the details of its progress, or as to the agency by which this was effected. From an early period Christian writers are found appealing triumphantly to the extension of their brotherhood. "There exists not," says Justin Martyr, "a people, whether Greek or barbarian, or any other race of men, by whatsoever appellation or manners they may be distinguished, however ignorant of arts or of agriculture, whether they dwell under tents or wander about in covered waggons, among whom prayers [and thanksgivings] are not offered up in the name of a crucified Jesus to the Father and Creator of all things."<sup>a</sup> Irenæus declares that in his day many barbarous nations had the traditional faith of the church written in their hearts by the Holy Spirit, without the instrumentality of paper and ink.<sup>b</sup> Tertullian, in reckoning up the nations

<sup>a</sup> Dial. c. Tryph. 117, as freely translated by Gibbon, i. 519.

<sup>b</sup> Adv. Hær. III. iv. 2.



which had received the gospel, names, in addition to those which were represented at Jerusalem on the great day of Pentecost,—Getulians, Moors, Spaniards, Gauls, Britons beyond the Roman pale, Sarmatians, Dacians, Germans, and Scythians.<sup>c</sup> Origen speaks of it as having won myriads of converts among every nation and kind of men; as having carried its conquests to a large extent over the barbaric world.<sup>d</sup> Arnobius, an eloquent African apologist, who wrote about the year 304, in one passage mentions widely distant nations among which Christians were found,<sup>e</sup> and elsewhere asserts that there was then no nation of barbarians which had not been affected by the softening influence of the gospel.<sup>f</sup> Such passages are not, indeed, free from rhetorical vagueness and exaggeration; but, after all reasonable abatement, they must be admitted as evidence that, in the times when they were written, the faith of Christ had been widely diffused, and in many quarters had penetrated beyond the bounds of civilization.<sup>g</sup>

Although the narrative of the preceding chapters has been for the most part confined to the countries bordering on the Mediterranean, the accounts of Pantæus and Origen<sup>h</sup> have brought before us notices of Christianity in regions which are vaguely designated by the names of Arabia and India; and the story of Manes has shown the existence of Christian communities in Persia and Mesopotamia.<sup>i</sup> The church of Edessa, whatever may be the value of the statements which ascribe to it an apostolic origin,<sup>k</sup> is known to have been

<sup>c</sup> Adv. Judæos, c. 7. From the place here given to the Germans, Rückert infers that Tertullian meant to speak of the countries on the Danube, while Irenæus (quoted below) meant those on the Rhine. i. 9-10.

<sup>d</sup> C. Celsum, i. 27; ii. 13.

<sup>e</sup> Adv. Gentes, i. 16 (Patrol. v.).

<sup>f</sup> Ib. ii. 5.

<sup>g</sup> See Mosh. 203; Kaye on Tertullian, 88.

<sup>h</sup> Pp. 123, 144.

<sup>i</sup> P. 187. See Beausobre, i. 180.

<sup>k</sup> See p. 4.

firmly established in the middle of the second century ;<sup>1</sup> and shortly after that date the Edessan Bardesanes witnesses to the propagation of the gospel in Parthia, Persia, Media, and Bactria.<sup>m</sup> It was not until towards the end of the period that it was introduced into Armenia ; but the apostle of that country, Gregory, styled the Illuminator, made a convert of the king, Tiridates III., and Armenia had the honour of being the first country in which Christianity was adopted as the national religion.<sup>n</sup>

From the time when "they which were scattered abroad upon the persecution which arose about Stephen went everywhere preaching the word,"<sup>o</sup> the calamities which drove Christians from their homes became the means of spreading the tidings of salvation. We have seen that such consequences followed from the banishment of bishops and clergy under Decius and Valerian ;<sup>p</sup> and thus it was that the Goths in Mœsia derived their first knowledge of the faith from captives whom they had carried off after inroads on the empire during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.<sup>q</sup>

Irenæus, towards the end of the second century, speaks of churches as existing among the Celts, in Spain, and in Germany.<sup>r</sup> His mention of the last of these countries ought, perhaps, to be understood as referring to the Roman province only—the portion within the Rhine ; but it is probable that, in the course of the following century, converts had also been won among the barbarous nations to the eastward of that river.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, i. 520 ; Neand. i. 110.

<sup>m</sup> Bardes. ap. Euseb. Præp. Evang. vi. 10, p. 280, ed. Viger, Paris, 1628.

<sup>n</sup> Cedren. 284 ; St. Martin, Mém. sur l'Arménie, i. 305-6 ; Wiltsch, i. 52 ; Milman, ii. 319-322 ; Herzog, v. 347.

<sup>o</sup> Acts, viii. 4 ; xi. 19.

<sup>p</sup> P. 138 ; Neand. i. 192.

<sup>q</sup> Sozomen, ii. 6.

<sup>r</sup> I. x. 2.

<sup>s</sup> Mosh. 204, 211 ; Neand. i. 116-17 ; Giesel. I. ii. 160. Rettberg thinks that Irenæus means also to speak of Germany beyond the Roman dominion (and the use of the plural *Γερμανίας* seems to agree with this—see Harvey

Of the early history of Christianity in Gaul very little is known. It is hardly to be supposed that Pothinus and his Asiatic companions, the founders of the church of Lyons, were the earliest missionaries who appeared in that country;<sup>†</sup> but they were the first of whom any authentic record is preserved, or whose labours had any considerable success.<sup>‡</sup> Gregory of Tours, who wrote towards the end of the sixth century, states that in the reign of Decius seven missionaries set out from Rome for the conversion of Gaul, and that among them was Dionysius, bishop of Paris,<sup>§</sup> who is confounded by later legendary writers with the Areopagite of the apostolic age.<sup>¶</sup> That there may have been some such mission about the time which is assigned for it, is not improbable; but the story as told by Gregory is inconsistent with unquestionable facts, and the work of the missionaries, if they were really sent into Gaul about the middle of the third century, must have consisted in strengthening and extending the church of that country—not in laying its foundation by the first introduction of the faith.<sup>‡</sup>

The origin of the British church is involved in fable. The story of Joseph of Arimathea's preaching,<sup>‡</sup> and even

in loc.), but that his statement is exaggerated. i. 68-72.

<sup>†</sup> See p. 44; Blunt, 194-7.

<sup>‡</sup> Mosh. 210-11; Burton, ii. 349. The Abbé Rohrbacher (iv. 477) stoutly maintains, in the year 1850, that St. Lazarus, St. Martha, and St. Mary Magdalene evangelized Provence! For further proof he refers to a work in two quarto volumes, written expressly on the subject, by the Abbé Faillon, Paris, 1848. On the other side, see Launoy, 'De commentitio Lazari, etc., in Provinciam Appulsu.'

<sup>§</sup> Hist. Franc. i. 28. See Launoy, Opera, t. xiii.

<sup>¶</sup> See the Lives of him in Patrol. Gr. iv. This confusion, although it had begun earlier, was established in the general belief by Hilduin, abbot of St. Denys, in the reign of Lewis the Pious. See hereafter, Book V. c. ii.

<sup>‡</sup> Mosh. 211, 449; see Hist. Litt. i. 306, seqq.; Giesel. I. i. 277. See Haddan-Stubbs, i. 3-5. The learned editors of our new 'Concilia' have collected the early notices of Christianity in Britain, vol. i. pp. 3-5.

<sup>‡</sup> Will. Malmesb. de Antiq. Glas-toniensis Ecclesiæ, Patrol. clxxix. 1683.

the correspondence of an alleged British king Lucius with Eleutherius, bishop of Rome,<sup>b</sup> about the year 167, need not be here discussed. Yet within about thirty years from the supposed date of that correspondence, we meet with the statement already quoted from Tertullian, that the gospel had made its way into parts of this island which the Romans had never reached,—a statement which may be supposed to indicate that, in the end of the second century, even Scotland had not been unvisited by missionaries. Somewhat later than Tertullian, Origen speaks of Britons, “although divided from our world,” as united with Mauritanians in the worship of the same one God.<sup>c</sup> It seems to be certain that under the government of Constantius and his son, at the end of the period which we have been surveying, the British Christians were numerous; and in the council of Arles, A.D. 314, we find the names of three British bishops—Eborius of York, Restitutus of London, and Adelfius, whose see is generally identified with Lincoln.<sup>d</sup>

(2.) The social position of those who embraced the gospel in the earliest times afforded a theme for the ridicule of Celsus;<sup>e</sup> and Gibbon, with evident delight, repeats the taunt that “the new sect was almost entirely composed of the dregs of the populace—of peasants and mechanics, of boys and women, of beggars and slaves.”<sup>f</sup>

<sup>b</sup> Beda, i. 4; Collier, i. 27-41; Dr. Lappenberg, however, is inclined to favour the story of Lucius. (i. 46.) The so-called coins of Lucius probably belong to a Gaulish king. Haddan, Pref. xxxi. See as to Lucius, ib. i. 25.

<sup>c</sup> In Luc. Hom. 6, t. iii. 939. Cf. Hom. 4 in Ezek., ib. 370; Tract. 28 in Matth., ib. 858.

<sup>d</sup> Hard. i. 267; Collier, i. 59; Mosh. 450-1; Lingard, ‘Anglo-Saxon Church,’ i. 6; Lappenberg, i. 48. Eborius is probably a name taken

from that of the see, Eboracum, and substituted for “some uncouth British name” (Raine, i. 9). Adelfius is described as of “*Colonia Londinensium*,” which some writers suppose to be Colchester. But *Londinensium* is more commonly regarded as a mistake for *Lindensium* (Lincoln), or for *Legionensium* (Caerleon-on-Usk). See Seames, 10; Quart. Rev., xcvi. 100; Haddan-Stubbs, i. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Orig. c. Cels. i. 27; iii. 53.

<sup>f</sup> i. 521.

If, as the same writer states, "this very odious imputation seems to be less strenuously denied by the apologists, than it is urged by the adversaries, of the faith," the cause may probably be found in their sense of its irrelevancy to any question as to the truth of the gospel,<sup>g</sup> and in the feeling which forbade them to imitate, even towards the meanest or the most sinful among those for whom the Saviour had died, the contempt with which the philosophers of heathenism were wont to look down on those whom they regarded as inferior to themselves.<sup>h</sup> But, as the historian goes on to admit, the reproach of meanness and vulgarity was far from being universally applicable to the converts. Among those whom we read of even in the New Testament were many persons of wealth and station, including some members of the imperial household.<sup>i</sup> There can be little doubt that Christianity was the "foreign superstition" of which, according to Tacitus, Pomponia Græcina, wife of Aulus Plautius, the conqueror of Britain, became a votary in the reign of Nero;<sup>k</sup> or that the profession of it was the dimly-indicated offence which under Domitian brought persecution on his own near relations, Flavia Domitilla and her husband, the consul Flavius Clemens.<sup>l</sup> It was not a mere rhetorical flight when Tertullian, in the end of the second century, told the heathens that his brethren were to be found filling the camp, the assemblies, the palace, and the senate.<sup>m</sup> The same writer distinctly states that Septimius Severus, in the earlier part of his reign, allowed men and women

<sup>g</sup> See Minuc. Felix, 'Octavius,' cc. 16, 36. "Nec de ultima statim plebe consistimus si honores vestros et purpuras recusamus." c. 31.

<sup>h</sup> See Orig. c. Cels. viii. 50.

<sup>i</sup> Philipp. iv. 22. See Merivale, Boyle Lectures, i. 83-4, and note R.

<sup>k</sup> Tacit. Annal. xiii. 33. See Merivale, Hist. Rom. vi. 272-3.

<sup>l</sup> The husband was put to death, and the wife was banished to the island of Pandataria (Vendotena). Dio Cass. lxvii. p. 766, ed. Hanov. 1606; Euseb. Chron. A.D. 98, in Patol. xxvii. 603; Hist. Eccl. iii. 18. See Merivale, vii. 152-4; Hare, 'Walks in Rome,' i. 381 (ed. 1).

<sup>m</sup> See p. 112.

of very high rank to profess the gospel;<sup>n</sup> and in like manner we are told by Origen, a little after Tertullian's time, that among the converts were men of dignified position, with noble and delicate ladies.<sup>o</sup> We have seen that, at a later date, Diocletian's empress and daughter were believed to be of the number;<sup>p</sup> and in the edicts both of that prince and of his predecessor Valerian, it is assumed that in many cases the penalties for professing Christianity would be incurred by persons of wealth and station.<sup>q</sup>

That the "poor of this world" were often found "rich in faith, and heirs of the kingdom of God"—that the preaching of Christ, addressed as it was to all, found more acceptance among the simple than among the wise men of the world—that the gospel was sometimes introduced into families by the agency of slaves—that female influence was effective in spreading it<sup>r</sup>—such statements we need not care to controvert. But we have seen also how by degrees the faith won its converts and its advocates among men of the highest ability and cultivation;<sup>s</sup> and how the Christian schools came to be frequented even by many of the heathen, on account of the advantages which they offered for a liberal and philosophical education. The very rebukes addressed by Clement, in his 'Pedagogue,' to the Christians of Alexandria, prove that he had to deal with a wealthy and luxurious community.<sup>t</sup> And, on the whole, there is reason to believe that, while the gospel had its proselytes in every rank below the throne, "its main strength lay in the middle, perhaps the mercantile, classes."<sup>u</sup>

<sup>n</sup> See p. 91.

<sup>o</sup> C. Cels. iii. 9.

<sup>p</sup> P. 201.

<sup>q</sup> See pp. 137, 204; Gibbon, i. 922.

<sup>r</sup> Gibbon, i. 521-3.

<sup>s</sup> See Arnob. ii. 5.

<sup>t</sup> Milman, ii. 264; Blunt on the Fathers, 170, 302.

<sup>u</sup> Milman, l. c. Compare Niebuhr, Lectures, iii. 323, ed. Schmitz; Blunt on the Fathers, Ser. ii. Lect. 2; Merivale, vi. 290. The great expenses which



The proportion which the Christians bore to the heathen population of the empire has been very variously estimated. We are not concerned on religious grounds to question Gibbon's calculation,<sup>x</sup> that, until their religion was sanctioned by the authority of Constantine, they did not amount to "more than a twentieth part" of the whole; indeed, if all the hindrances to the progress of the gospel be fairly considered, even such a proportion would deserve to be regarded as a token rather of great than of little success;<sup>y</sup> but there can be little doubt that the estimate is by far too low. By other writers the Christians have been reckoned as a tenth or a fifth of the whole body of Roman subjects; in some districts, as in the dominions of Maximin, they were perhaps even the majority.<sup>z</sup>

## II.—*The Hierarchy.*

(1.) In the course of the second and third centuries the hierarchy of the church underwent some changes. The only order which existed in the apostolic age, in addition to those of bishops, priests, and deacons, was that of deaconesses—women (and at first usually widows)<sup>a</sup> who were employed in such ministrations to persons of their own sex as were either naturally unsuitable for

the church had to bear are also a proof that it must have had large funds at its command. Blunt, *ib.* 309, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> i. 520.

<sup>y</sup> "Si dans les premiers siècles de notre ère l'homme a été ce qu'il est toujours, une religion qui demandait de tels sacrifices et prescrivait une morale si austère ne pouvait faire que des progrès modérés. C'est tout ce que l'on peut établir à ce sujet." (Matter, *Hist. du Christianisme*, i. 119.) The writer goes on to say that, "at most a *fifth*" of Constantine's subjects were Chris-

tians when the edict of toleration was issued. [See a paper by Dr. Lightfoot, read before the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, 1873.]

<sup>z</sup> Maximin, in one of his edicts, says that "almost all" had abandoned the worship of their ancestors for the new faith (Euseb. ix. 9.) See other authorities in Milman, ii. 341; Planck, i. 217; Finlay, i. 151.

<sup>a</sup> Thomassin. I. iii. 50. 8; Suicer, s. v. *διακόνισσα*; Rothe, 'Anfänge der Christl. Kirche.' 247-51, 256-8; Kaye on Tertullian, 227-9.

males, or were so regarded by the customs of the ancient world—especially in the east. Thus, they assisted at the baptism of female converts; they visited the women of the community at their homes; and, by obtaining access to their apartments, from which the clergy were excluded, they had the means of doing much for the advancement of the faith among the middle and higher classes.<sup>b</sup>

But in the end of the second century, or early in the third, several new offices, below the order of deacons, were introduced. These originated in the greater churches, where—partly from a supposed expediency of limiting the number of deacons to that of the apostolical church at Jerusalem,<sup>c</sup> and partly from the importance which the deacons acquired in such communities, as being intrusted with the administration of the public funds—a need was felt of assistance in performing the lower functions of the diaconate, which it is too probable that the deacons had in many cases begun to regard as unworthy of them.<sup>d</sup> The first mention of any inferior office is in Tertullian, who speaks of readers.<sup>e</sup> The fuller organization of the lesser orders comes before us in the epistles of St. Cyprian, and in one of his contemporary Cornelius, bishop of Rome, who states that the Roman church then numbered forty-six presbyters, seven deacons, seven subdeacons, forty-two acolyths, and fifty-two exor-

<sup>b</sup> Suicer, l. c.; Neand. i. 162. For deaconesses in later times, see Döllinger, i. 214. They were forbidden by some councils, as by that of Nismes in 394 (c. 2. ap. Hefele, ii. 58), and the first council of Orange, A.D. 441, c. 26. But they were sanctioned by the general council of Chalcedon (c. 15, A.D. 451) and are to be found long after this, both in the Greek and in the Latin churches. Among the Jacobites the order is still kept up. Augusti, xi. 220-1.

<sup>c</sup> See Concil. Neocæsar. A.D. 324. c.

14; Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 237.

<sup>d</sup> Bingham, II. xx. 16; iii. 1-3; Mosh. 574; Planck, i. 144-9; Giesel. I. i. 370; Neand. i. 279. From some canons early in the fourth century—as the 18th of the Nicene council—it would seem that the deacons were then inclined to encroach on the functions and honours of the presbyters.

<sup>e</sup> De Præscr. c. 41. Augusti, however, identifies the subdeacons with the *ὑπηρέται* of the New Testament and the early fathers (xi. 223). The “young

cists, readers, and door-keepers.<sup>f</sup> The business of the subdeacons was to take care of the sacred vessels and to assist the deacons in their secular duties; the acolyths lighted the lamps and attended at the celebration of the sacraments; the exorcists had the charge of the energumens (or persons who were supposed to be possessed by evil spirits); the readers were employed to read the Scriptures in the services of the church.<sup>g</sup>

These offices were not universally adopted.<sup>h</sup> As to that of exorcist, the Apostolical Constitutions (which represent the eastern system as it was about the end of the third century)<sup>i</sup> declare that it is not to be conferred by ordination, as being a special gift of divine grace, and a voluntary exercise of benevolence.<sup>k</sup>

(2.) While the ministry of the church was thus receiving an addition of inferior offices, the authority of its highest members, the bishops, became more defined, and distinctions were introduced into their order. The circumstances of the times required that power should be centralized, as an expedient conducive to strength and safety; moreover, as their flocks increased in numbers and in wealth, and as the clergy subject to them were multiplied, the position of the bishops naturally acquired a greater appearance of outward dignity.<sup>l</sup> There seems, however, to be much exaggeration in the statements of some writers, both as to the smallness of the authority which they suppose the episcopate to have originally possessed, and as to the height which it had

men" of Acts v. 6, 10, appear also to have been a class of church-officers. See Mosheim, 124 (who identifies them with the deacons), and Olshausen, Comment. in loc. <sup>f</sup> Ap. Euseb. vi. 43.

<sup>g</sup> Thomassin. ii. 1; Bingham. iii.; Planck, i. 145-8. Socrates (v. 22) says that at Alexandria catechumens were allowed to be readers and singers. See

Augusti, vi. 156.

<sup>h</sup> Martene, ii. 1-2; Giesel I. i. 368-9.

<sup>i</sup> In this Krabbe and Von Drey (see p. 10 n. v) agree, although their views differ in some other respects. See Krabbe, 123-212, seqq.; Drey, 19, 45-80, 171-81, 191-2.

<sup>k</sup> L. viii. c. 26.

<sup>l</sup> Giesel. I. i. 370.

attained in the course of these centuries.<sup>m</sup> Even to the end of the period we meet with nothing like autocratic power in the bishops. They were themselves elected by the clergy and people;<sup>n</sup> they consulted with the presbyters in the more private matters, and with the body of the faithful in such as concerned the whole community; even the selection of persons to be ordained for the ministry of the church was referred to the consent of its members generally.<sup>o</sup>

From time to time circumstances rendered it desirable that the pastors of neighbouring churches should meet in consultation, agreeably to apostolic precedent. In addition to such occasional synods, the custom of holding regular meetings twice,<sup>p</sup> or at least once, a-year was introduced in the latter part of the second century. The origin of these stated synods appears to have been in Greece, where they were recommended by the analogy of the ancient deliberative assemblies, such as that of the Amphictyons, which still existed;<sup>q</sup> and by degrees they were introduced into other countries. The chief city of each district was regarded as the metropolis, or mother city.<sup>r</sup> There the synods met; the bishop of the

<sup>m</sup> Thus Mosheim begs the question as to the original position of the bishops, by saying that in the second century they *began* to claim authority as successors of the apostles (269). It is not for me to reconcile this view with the opinion of our late Germanizers, that the apostles themselves had no official authority. In another place (p. 578) Mosheim gives a very extraordinary interpretation to St. Cyprian's words, "Ut ecclesia super episcopos constituitur,"—viz. that the church is *superior* to the bishops. The real meaning—that the church is *founded on* the bishops—is confirmed by the whole tendency of the passage, and especially by the next words, "et omnis actus ecclesie per eosdem præpositos

gubernetur." (Ep. 33.) But Mosheim goes on to attempt an explanation of these words in accordance with his own construction of those preceding: "Since the church is above the bishops, the government ascribed to them can only mean," etc.<sup>1</sup> All this is the more curious, because he represents the author of this supposed avowal as the great usurper of the rights of the presbyters and people.

<sup>n</sup> Augusti, xi. 259.

<sup>o</sup> Bingham, II. iii. 9; IV. ii.; Mosh. 573-4; Planck, i. 183, 187; Giesel. I. i. 372. See as to Cyprian, p. 181.

<sup>p</sup> Can. Apost. 36.

<sup>q</sup> Tert. de Jejuniis, 13; Mosh. 264-7; Planck, i. 94-5.

<sup>r</sup> That this view was adopted from

place naturally took a lead as president, and he became the representative of his brethren in their communications with other churches.<sup>5</sup> Thus the metropolitans acquired a pre-eminence among the bishops: and, although every bishop was still regarded as of equal dignity,—although each was considered to be independent in his own diocese<sup>†</sup> (unless, indeed, suspicions of his orthodoxy invited his brethren to interfere for the vindication of the faith, and for the protection of his flock),<sup>‡</sup>—although each, within his own sphere, retained the direction of the ritual and of indifferent matters in general,—the individual dioceses became practically subject to the decisions of the larger circles in which they were included.<sup>§</sup>

A still higher authority than that of ordinary metropolitans was attached to the bishops of the great seats of government, as Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch. The title of patriarch, by which these came to be distinguished, was not, however, restricted to them in the period which we are now surveying.<sup>¶</sup>

The authority of the churches which could trace their origin to apostolic founders was highly regarded. Irenæus and Tertullian, in arguing with heretics who refused to abide by the words of Scripture under pretence of its

the civil divisions of the empire appears from the fact that Cæsarea, and not Jerusalem, was the ecclesiastical metropolis of Palestine. Thomassin, I. i. 3. 1; De Marca, I. iii. 2; vi. 1; Beveridge, Codex Can. Vind. II. v. 4; Barrow, 369, 373.

<sup>5</sup> Planck, i. 81-4.

<sup>†</sup> Can. Apost. 33; Barrow, 344-8.

<sup>‡</sup> It was considered that the episcopate was *one*—that every bishop was charged with the care of the whole church, although for reasons of convenience each was especially set over a particular portion of it. It was, therefore, the duty of every bishop to

maintain the faith wherever it might be assailed, so that, when a bishop erred, his brethren were entitled to intervene. Cyprian's proceedings in the case of Marcian, bishop of Arles, and in that of two Spanish bishops, may be mentioned as instances. Epp. 67-8; Barrow, 263, 414-15; Bingham, II. vi. 1; Giesel. I. i. 366.

<sup>¶</sup> Barrow, 374-9; Bingham, II. vi. 1; Mosh. 269, 574; Planck, i. 98, Giesel. I. i. 229, 358-60. See the 9th canon of Antioch, A.D. 341.

<sup>§</sup> De Marca, I. iii. 5; Bingham, II. xvii. 6; Planck, I. iii. 5; Giesel. I. i. 361.

having been corrupted, refer them to the tradition of the apostolic churches and to the uninterrupted succession of their bishops, as evidence of the apostolic doctrine.<sup>z</sup> In so doing, Tertullian places all such churches on the same level—classing Philippi, Corinth, Thessalonica, and Ephesus with Rome. But the great church of the imperial city had especial advantages, which could not fail to exalt it in a manner altogether peculiar. It was the only apostolic church of the west, and the channel through which most of the western nations had received the gospel; it was believed to have been founded by the labours and adorned by the martyrdom of St. Peter and St. Paul; it was strong in the number of its members, and in the wealth which enabled it not only to maintain a higher degree of state than other churches, but to send large charities to the less opulent brethren in every quarter;<sup>a</sup> it was linked with all other communities by continual intercourse; while it was preserved by national character from those speculative errors which so greatly disquieted the churches of the east. Hence the Roman church necessarily became pre-eminent above every other.<sup>b</sup> But while this eminence was willingly acknowledged in ordinary circumstances, the pretensions of Rome were firmly resisted whenever such bishops as Victor or Stephen attempted to interfere with the independent rights of their brethren in the episcopate. The history of these centuries clearly shows that the bishops of Rome did not as yet possess any jurisdiction over other churches, or any other authority than the precedence and the influence which naturally resulted from their position.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>z</sup> Iren. iii. 3-4; Tert. de Præscr. 36; adv. Marcian. iv. 5. See Barrow, 272-3.

<sup>a</sup> Dionys. Corinth. ap. Routh, Rel. Sac. i. 179.

<sup>b</sup> Barrow, 275, 363-6, 402; Mosh. 574; Planck, i. 113-17, 627; Neand. i. 284; Giesel. I. i. 213, 230.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 362-3. Some titles, which are dwelt on by writers in the papal in-



(3.) From the cities, in which it was first planted, Christianity gradually penetrated into the country. When a church was formed in a village or a small town, it was administered by a presbyter, subject to the bishop of the neighbouring city, and in some cases by a *chorepiscopus* (or country bishop).<sup>d</sup> Although this title does not occur before the fourth century, the office which it designates was of much earlier origin.<sup>e</sup> The chorepiscopi were subordinate to the bishops of cities, and acted for them in confirming the baptized, in granting letters of communion, in ordaining the clergy of the minor orders, and sometimes, by special permission, the priests and deacons.<sup>f</sup> It is a question to what order of the ministry they belonged. Some writers suppose that they were all bishops; others (among whom are Romanists of high name<sup>g</sup> as well as presbyterians) consider them to have been presbyters; while, according to a third opinion, some were of one class and some of the other. If we regard the object of their appointment, this last view may seem the most probable. As the chorepiscopi were substitutes of the city bishops, and empowered to discharge some part of their functions, it may in some cases have been sufficient to appoint a presbyter, with authority to perform certain acts which by such delegation might rightly be intrusted to presbyters, although not included in the ordinary presbyterial commission; while in other cases it may have been expedient that the chorepiscopus should be a bishop, although, as being the

terest as showing the elevation of the Roman bishop over others, were in truth common to all bishops. See Field, book v. ch. 41; Thomassin. I. i. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Planck, i. 71-4; Giesel. I. i. 358.

<sup>e</sup> Mosheim (258) and Neander (i. 281) refer it to the second century; Schröckh (ix. 19) to the third. See

Planck, i. 76-8. The first occurrence of the title is in the 13th canon of Ancyra, A.D. 314.

<sup>f</sup> Bingham, II. xiv. 6-7.

<sup>g</sup> E.g. Nat. Alex. viii. 496. See Bingham, II. xiv. 2-4, who himself, like Anglican writers in general, supposes all the chorepiscopi to have been bishops. So too Augusti, xi. 162.

deputy of another bishop, he was limited in the exercise of his powers.<sup>h</sup>

(4.) The right of the Christian clergy to "live of the gospel"<sup>i</sup> was asserted and acknowledged from the first. As the church became more completely organized, they were withdrawn from secular business,<sup>k</sup> and were restricted to the duties of their ministry; in the African church of St. Cyprian's time a clergyman was forbidden even to undertake the office of executor or guardian.<sup>m</sup> Their maintenance was derived from the oblations of the faithful; in some places they received a certain proportion of the whole fund collected for the uses of the church; in other places, as at Carthage, provision was made for them by special monthly collections.<sup>n</sup> The amount of income thus obtained was naturally very various in different churches; it would seem that the practice of trading, which is sometimes spoken of as a discredit to the clergy, and forbidden by canons, may in many cases have originated, not in covetousness, but in a real need of some further means of subsistence in addition to those provided by the church.<sup>o</sup>

### III.—*Rites and Usages.*

(1.) During the earliest years of the gospel—while the congregations of believers were scanty and poor, and their assemblies were held in continual fear of disturb-

<sup>h</sup> See Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, can. 10; De Marca, II. xiii. 3. Thomassin. II. i. 1; Ducange, s. v. *Chorepiscopus*; Döllinger, i. 46.

<sup>i</sup> I Cor. ix. 14.

<sup>k</sup> Can. Apost. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Cyp. Ep. 1; Bingh. V. iv. 1-3.

<sup>n</sup> Tertull. Apol. 39. Cyprian speaks of "divisiones mensurnas," Ep. xxxix.

<sup>o</sup> See the 18th canon of Illiberis (A.D. 305 ?); Planck, i. 198-200; Neand. i. 275; Matter, Hist. du Christianisme, i. 147. Mosheim tells us that the parallel of the Christian with the Jewish hierarchy was not drawn by ecclesiastical writers until after the destruction of Jerusalem by Hadrian; and that they then introduced it with a view of establishing a

ance on the part of the heathens—although it seems probable that they may have set certain rooms apart for the performance of their worship,<sup>p</sup> it is not to be supposed that any entire buildings can have been devoted exclusively to religious uses. We find, however, that in Tertullian's time churches were already built:<sup>q</sup> the notices of them become more frequent in the course of the third century; and, as has been stated in a former chapter,<sup>r</sup> a new splendour of structure and ornament was introduced during the long interval of peace which followed after the persecution under Valerian.<sup>s</sup>

In these churches a portion was separated from the rest by railings, which were intended to exclude the laity. Within this enclosure were the holy table or altar,<sup>t</sup> which was usually made of wood, the pulpit or reading-desk,<sup>u</sup> and the seats of the clergy.<sup>x</sup>

(2.) In the apostolical times, baptism was administered immediately on the acknowledgment of Christ by the receiver; but when the church became more firmly settled, converts were required to pass through a course of moral training, combined with instruction in the faith,<sup>y</sup>

claim to tithes! The historian seems to forget that it occurs as early as St. Clement's Epistle to the Corinthians (c. 40), where Neander gets over the passage by his usual expedient of supposing an interlopation (i. 273). The duty of paying first-fruits and tithes, as under the Law, was more or less distinctly maintained by some writers of this period, as a matter of conscientious obligation. (See Irenæus, IV. xviii. 2; Origen. in Num., Hom. 1.) But to provide for the clergy by such means was impossible, while converts were few among the agricultural classes. Bingham, V. v. 2.

<sup>p</sup> See I Cor. xi. 22; Krazer, 96, seqq.; Blunt, 36.

<sup>q</sup> Tert. de Idol 7; de Corona, 3; de Pudic. 4.

<sup>r</sup> P. 201.

<sup>s</sup> Tillem. iii. 274-6; Bingham, VIII. i. 13-15; Augusti, xi. 338-347.

<sup>t</sup> It is a question whether *θυσιαστήριον*, in any of the passages where St. Ignatius uses the word, need be construed as meaning the holy table. But this use of *ara* and *altare* was fixed before Tertullian's time. See Bingham, VIII. vi. 12; Krazer, 110; Schröckh, iv. 17-18; Augusti, viii. 167. Socrates says that at Antioch the altar looked (*ὄρα*) to the west, whereas in other churches it looked to the east. v. 22.

<sup>u</sup> "Pulpitum, id est, tribunal ecclesiæ." Cypr. Ep. 39.

<sup>x</sup> Giesel. I. i. 375.

<sup>y</sup> Rothe, De Discipl. Arcani, 9-14.

before admission to its communion by this sacrament.<sup>2</sup> Their entry on this training (during which the title of Christians<sup>a</sup> was already given to them, as well as that of catechumens) was marked by a solemn reception, with prayer, the sign of the cross, and imposition of hands.<sup>b</sup> The length of the preparatory period was not uniform; the council of Illiberis (Elvira, near Granada) appoints two years,<sup>c</sup> while the Apostolical Constitutions prescribe three, although with a permission that the term may be shortened in special cases.<sup>d</sup> If the catechumen were in danger of death during his probation, he was baptized without further delay.

With the system of preparatory training was introduced the practice of confining the ordinary administration of baptism to particular seasons. Easter and Whitsuntide were considered as especially suitable, on account of the connexion between the sacrament and the great events which those seasons respectively commemorated; and it was on the vigil of each festival that the chief performance of the baptismal rites took place.<sup>e</sup> Yet baptism might still be given at other times: "Every day is the Lord's," says Tertullian, after stating the reasons for preferring Easter and Pentecost; "every hour, every time, is fitting for baptism; if there be a difference as to solemnity, there is none as to grace."<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Justin Martyr mentions a preparation by prayer and fasting (Apol. i. 67); and out of this the longer and more systematic training seems to have arisen.

<sup>b</sup> *E.g.* Conc. Illib. c. 45. See Martene, i. 15; and the so-called 7th canon of the Second General Council, A.D. 381. Rothe has collected many proofs of this. De Discipl. Arc. 6-8.

<sup>c</sup> Other ceremonies were afterwards used in some churches. See Martene, i. 12, seqq., who gives full information as to ritual matters, but is not suffi-

ciently careful in marking the distinction of times.

<sup>e</sup> Conc. Illib. c. 42. The date of this council is not certain, but it was probably about A.D. 305. Hardouin places it in 313; Aguirre, in 303; Mansi, in 309; others as early as 250, or as late as 330. See Dupin, ii. 304; Mariana, iii. 176, note; Migne, Dict. des Conciles, i. 813; Hefele, i. 123-8.

<sup>d</sup> Constit. Apostol. viii. 32; Bingh. X. i. 4; Neand. i. 322-3; Augusti, vi. 387; xi. 47. <sup>e</sup> Augusti, vi. 167, 170.

<sup>f</sup> De Bapt. 19.

Agreeably to apostolical practice, a profession of faith was exacted at baptism. Hence arose the use of creeds, embodying the essential points of belief, which were imparted to the catechumens in the last stage of their preparation.<sup>g</sup> The name given to these forms—*symbola*—seems either to have meant simply that they were tokens of Christian brotherhood, or to have been borrowed from the analogy of military service, in which the watchwords or passwords were so called.<sup>h</sup> Renunciation of the devil and other spiritual enemies was also required;<sup>i</sup> and it was probably in the second century that the rite of exorcising was introduced into the baptismal office<sup>k</sup>—a rite which was founded on the view that men were under the dominion of the evil one until set free by the reception of Christian grace.<sup>m</sup> About the same time probably were added various symbolical ceremonies:—the sign of the cross on the forehead; the kiss of peace, in token of admission into spiritual fellowship; white robes, figurative of the cleansing from sin; and the tasting of milk and honey, which were intended to typify the blessings of the heavenly Canaan.<sup>n</sup>

Baptism was administered by immersion, except in cases of sickness, where affusion or sprinkling was used.<sup>o</sup> St. Cyprian strongly asserts the sufficiency of this “clinical” baptism;<sup>p</sup> but a stigma was justly attached to persons who put off their baptism until the supposed approach of death should enable them (as it was thought) to secure the benefits of the sacrament without incurring

<sup>g</sup> See Bingham, book x. c. 3; Augusti, vi. 411-13; Blunt, 21.

<sup>h</sup> Mosh. 320; Neand. i. 424-5.

<sup>i</sup> Tertull. de Corona, 3.

<sup>k</sup> Augusti (vii. 271) thinks that there are traces of baptismal exorcism in Tert. de Bapt. cc. 5, 20; but the first distinct mention of it is in one of St. Cyprian's councils, A.D. 266 (Neand.

i. 428-9). See the speeches of Cæcilius and Vincentius at that council, Patrol. iii. 1055, 1066.

<sup>m</sup> Ep. Barnab. 16; Giesel. I. i. 236.

<sup>n</sup> Tert. de Cor. 3; Giesel. I. i. 236.

<sup>o</sup> Bingham, XI. xi. 4; Giesel. i. 382; Schaff, 564-6.

<sup>p</sup> Ep. 69.

<sup>q</sup> See p. 167, note 1.

its obligation to newness of life.<sup>1</sup> In opposition to this error, Tertullian, Origen, and Cyprian earnestly insist on the principle that right dispositions of mind are necessary in order to partake of the baptismal gifts, and warn against trusting to the virtue of an ordinance received in circumstances where it was hardly possible to conceive that such dispositions could exist.<sup>2</sup>

That the baptism of infants was of apostolical origin, there are abundant grounds of presumption.<sup>3</sup> Thus, our Lord Himself, by receiving and blessing little children, showed that they are capable of spiritual benefits. His charge to "make disciples of all nations, baptizing them" was given to persons who had been accustomed to the admission of infants into a spiritual covenant by the right of circumcision, and even to the baptism of the children of proselytes. St. Paul seems to assume<sup>4</sup> that all who were capable of becoming members of the Jewish church were equally admissible to the Christian church; and we hear nothing of any dissensions on this point, whereas the exclusion of their infants would surely have been a grievance sufficient to provoke in the highest degree the characteristic jealousy of Jewish converts. We read of whole households as having been baptized at once, without a hint that any members of them were excepted on account of tender age. And in St. Paul's charges as to the training of children, they seem to be regarded as already members of the church; for otherwise we might certainly have expected to meet with directions for their instruction and discipline in preparation for baptism. The first distinct mention of infant-baptism is by St. Irenæus;<sup>5</sup> but the whole bearing of early writings

<sup>1</sup> Tert. de Pœnit. 6; Orig. in Joann. tom. vi. 17; Cypr. Liber Testim. iii. 26; Neand. i. 350-1, 453; Kaye on Tertullian, 234.

<sup>2</sup> See Wall's Hist. of Infant Baptism;

Augusti, iv. 111-13; vi. 40; Schaff, 566-576.

<sup>3</sup> Rom. xi.

<sup>4</sup> II. xxii. 4. See Augusti, vii. 111



is in accordance with the judgment of Origen, who referred the practice to apostolical tradition.<sup>x</sup> Tertullian, in terms hardly consistent with a belief in original sin (which, however, he elsewhere strongly declares),<sup>y</sup> argues against hastening to administer baptism to "the age of innocence ;"<sup>z</sup> but his objection proves that this was the established usage, and he himself allows that infants may be baptized when in danger of death.<sup>a</sup>

Tertullian is also a witness for the use of sponsors at baptism.<sup>b</sup>

(3.) Confirmation, by imposition of hands and anointing with chrism, was originally given immediately after baptism;<sup>c</sup> but in the second century the administration of it was ordinarily reserved to bishops, although in the east it was still sometimes performed by presbyters.<sup>d</sup> When baptism was administered by a bishop or in his presence, as in cities at the great festivals, the supplementary rites were immediately added; in other cases, they were deferred until there should be an opportunity of receiving them at the hands of the bishop.<sup>d</sup> Confirmation was bestowed on infants as well as on other baptized persons;<sup>f</sup> and in some churches a practice of administering the eucharist to infants and young children—founded on a belief that our Lord's words in St. John vi. 53 imposed a universal necessity of that sacrament in order to salvation—was established by the middle of the third century.<sup>g</sup>

<sup>x</sup> In Rom. v. 9, p. 565. See Blunt on the Fathers, 548.

<sup>y</sup> De Testim. Animæ, 3; de Anima, 16, 41. See Bp. Kaye on Tertullian, C. v. art. 9; Blunt on the Fathers, 192.

<sup>z</sup> De Bapt. 18; see Dr. Pusey's note, Oxf. Transl. 277; Neand. i. 432-3; ii. 391; Kaye on Tertull. 311, 422-3; Blunt on the Fathers, 594.

<sup>a</sup> See Cypr. Ep. 64; Wall, i. 97; Bingham, XI. iv. 10; Münter, Primordia Eccl. Afric. 102; Augusti, vii. 40-5; Giesel. I. i. 235.

<sup>b</sup> De Bapt. 18.

<sup>c</sup> Ib. 8; Augusti, vii. 407.

<sup>d</sup> Leo the Great and Gelasius I. forbade presbyters to confirm; but Gregory the Great allowed it in case of necessity. See Gratian, Dist. lxxviii. 4; xcv. 1-2. (Patrol. clxxxvii.).

<sup>e</sup> Conc. Illib. A.D. 305 (?) c. 77; Martene, i. 86; Bingham. XII. ii. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Hieron. adv. Lucif. 9; Martene, i. 87; Augusti, vii. 412.

<sup>g</sup> Cypr. de Lapsis, 25; Bingham. XII. i. 2-3; XV. iv. 7. Waterland, how-

(4.) The elements of Christian worship appear, by the notices which occur in the New Testament, to have been the same from the earliest days, although varieties of detail and arrangement obtained in different churches.<sup>h</sup> The ordinary service of "the day which is called Sunday," in the second century, is described by Justin Martyr.<sup>i</sup> It began with passages from the Scriptures, read in a language which the hearers in general could understand; or, where no version as yet existed in a tongue intelligible to the common people, the selected passages were first read in Greek or Latin, and were then rendered into the local dialect by an interpreter.<sup>k</sup> After this followed a discourse by the presiding ecclesiastic, which was usually directed to the application of the lessons which had been read. These addresses were at first simple and familiar in style, and hence received the name of homilies (*i.e.* conversations);<sup>m</sup> but by degrees they rose into greater importance as a part of the service, and acquired something of a rhetorical character, which had originally been avoided for the sake of distinction from the harangues of secular orators and philosophers.<sup>n</sup> Psalmody formed a large portion of the early Christian worship. It consisted partly of the Old Testament psalms, and partly of hymns composed on Christian themes; and both in the church and among heretical sects it was found a very effective means of impressing doctrine on the minds of the less educated members.<sup>o</sup>

ever, in his tract on Infant-communion, maintains "that they gave not the communion to *mere infants*, but to *children*, perhaps five, six, seven, or ten years old; and that under a notion of prudent caution, rather than of strict necessity, so far as appears." (Works, vi. 65.) So too Wall, ii. 478, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> See Socrates, v. 22; Sozomen, vii. 19.

<sup>i</sup> Apol. I. 67.

<sup>k</sup> Bingham. XIII. iv. 6; Neand. i. 418-19; see Augusti, vol. vi.

<sup>m</sup> Fleury, vi. 17; Augusti, vi. 253-4.

<sup>n</sup> Neand. i. 420. Origen's homilies, which are the oldest extant compositions of the kind, were spoken extempore, and it was not until the age of sixty that he allowed them to be taken down by stenographers. (Euseb. vi. 36). See Augusti, vi. 268.

<sup>o</sup> Neand. i. 420. See above, p. 47, 28

(5.) In the apostolic age the administration of the eucharist took place in the evening, after the pattern of its original institution.<sup>p</sup> The service included a thanksgiving by the bishop or presbyter for God's bounty in supplying the fruits of the earth; and in acknowledgment of these gifts the congregation presented offerings of bread and wine, from which the elements for consecration were taken. At the same time money was contributed for the relief of the poor, the maintenance of the clergy, and other ecclesiastical purposes.<sup>q</sup> The bread used in the administration was of the common sort, leavened;<sup>r</sup> the wine was mixed with water,—at first, merely in compliance with the ordinary custom of the east, although mystical reasons for the mixture were devised at least as early as the time of Clement of Alexandria, and an opinion of its necessity afterwards grew up.<sup>s</sup> Before the consecration, the names of those who had offered, and of such saints or deceased members of the church as were to be specially commemorated, were read from the diptychs; and, although the practice of reciting such lists was afterwards abandoned on account of the inconvenient length to which they had grown, it became usual to insert in the diptychs the names of the sovereign, of the patriarchs, and of the neighbouring bishops, as a sign of Christian fellowship.<sup>t</sup>

The eucharist was at first preceded, but at a later date was more usually followed, by the *agape* or love-feast. The materials of this were contributed by the members of the congregation, according to the means of each; all,

to Bardesanes; also Augusti, i. 275-7; v. 236, seqq. (who mentions two special treatises on the propagation of heresy by means of psalmody. i. 286-7.)

<sup>p</sup> Martene, i. 107.

<sup>q</sup> Just. Mart. Apol. I. 65-7; Tertull. Apol. 39; Neand. i. 457.

<sup>r</sup> See Augusti, iii. 267, seqq.

<sup>s</sup> Clem. Alex. Pædag. ii. 2, p. 177; Cypr. Ep. 63; Bingh. XV. ii. 7; Augusti, viii. 294; Palmer, Origines Liturgicæ, ii. 75-6, ed. 2.

<sup>t</sup> See Martene, i. 145-7; Ducange, s. v. *Diptycha*; Bingh. XV. iii. 17; Suicer, s. v. *δίπτυχα*; Augusti, xii. 302-12; Giesel. I. i. 378.

of whatever station, sat down to it as equals, in token of their spiritual brotherhood; and the meal was concluded with psalmody and prayer.<sup>u</sup> It was, however, too soon found (as even the apostolic writings bear witness) that the ideal of this feast was liable to be grievously marred in practice. There was danger of excess and selfishness in partaking of it; for the richer Christians there was a temptation either to "shame"\* their poorer brethren, or, by a more subtle form of evil, to value themselves on their bounty and condescension towards them. It was found also that the secret celebration of such meals tended to excite the suspicions of the heathen; that it gave rise and countenance to the popular reports of Thyestean banquets and other abominations. For such reasons the *agape* was first disjoined from the Lord's Supper, and then was abandoned.<sup>v</sup> In the fourth century canons were directed against celebrations bearing this name, but which were altogether different from those to which it had been attached in earlier times.<sup>z</sup>

After a time, and probably with a view of disarming the jealousies of the heathen,<sup>a</sup> the administration of the eucharist was transferred from the evening to the morning, when it was added to the service which had before been usual.<sup>b</sup> Hence arose a distinction between the parts of the combined service. The earlier—the "mass of the catechumens"<sup>c</sup>—was open to energumens (or possessed persons), to catechumens, penitents, and in the fourth century even to heretics, Jews, and heathens;<sup>d</sup> while to

<sup>u</sup> Tertull. Apol. 39; ad Martyres, 2; Chrysost. in I Cor. Hom. 27, init.; Bingham, XV. vii. 7-8; Suicer, s. v. ἀγάπη, coll. 23, 25-6; Augusti, i. 125; viii. 321.

<sup>x</sup> I Cor. xi. 22; Clem. Alex. Pædag. ii. 1, p. 165; Chrysost. l. c.

<sup>y</sup> Augusti, viii. 141; Neand. i. 450-2.

<sup>z</sup> Bingham, XV. vii. 9. See below, Book VI. c. vi. sect. v. 7.

<sup>a</sup> Augusti, viii. 141.

<sup>b</sup> Neand. i. 451. See Tertull. de Corona, 3; Cypr. Ep. lxxiii 15-16.

<sup>c</sup> "Missa Catechumenorum." The word *missa* (= *missio*) referred to the dismissal of the different classes at different parts of the service. Augusti, viii. 41.

<sup>d</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 293-4. See can. 84 of the Fourth Council of Carthage, A. D. 398.

the celebration of the holy mysteries—the “mass of the faithful”—none were admitted but such as were baptized and in full communion with the church. This division of the service must have been fully established before Tertullian’s time, since he censures the Marcionites for their neglect of it.<sup>e</sup>

In the very earliest times of the church, the sacramental “breaking of bread” was daily; but the fervour of devotion in which such an observance was possible soon passed away, and the celebration was usually confined to the Lord’s day.<sup>f</sup> In Africa an idea of the necessity of daily communion (which was supposed to be indicated in the petition for “our daily bread”) led to a custom of carrying home portions of the consecrated bread, and eating a morsel of it every morning, before going forth to the business of the day. Thus the individual Christian was supposed to witness and maintain his union with his brethren elsewhere; and in this private use of one of the sacramental elements without the other appears to have originated one of the most inexcusable corruptions of the later Latin church.<sup>g</sup> The eucharist being regarded as the chief sign and bond of Christian communion, it was considered that all the members of the church were bound to partake of it, except such as were debarred by ecclesiastical censures. All, therefore, who were present at the celebration of the sacrament communicated; and portions of the consecrated elements

<sup>e</sup> Tertull. *De Præscr.* 41; Mosh. 520.

<sup>f</sup> Archdeacon Freeman, without absolutely deciding against the idea of daily communion in Acts ii. 46, thinks that in the very earliest time “Sunday and festival celebration” was the rule, and that greater frequency was afterwards introduced through mistake as to the nature of the rite. (*Principles or*

*Divine Service*,’ vol. i. c. ii. sect. 2.) Comp. Bingham. XIII. ix. 1; XV. ix. 2.

<sup>g</sup> Tert. *ad. Uxor.* ii. 5; Neand. i. 460-1; Guericke, i. 201. The practice of taking the eucharistic bread from the priest, without consuming it in church, was afterwards condemned. Conc. Casaraug. I. A.D. 380, c. 3; Conc. Tolet. I. A.D. 400. c. 14.

were reserved for the sick and for prisoners, to whom they were conveyed by the deacons after the public rites were ended.<sup>h</sup>

(6.) While the idea of the Christian life regards all our time as holy to the Lord, it was yet felt to be necessary that human weakness should be guided and trained by the appointment of certain days as more especially to be sanctified by religious solemnities.<sup>i</sup> Hence, even from the very beginning of the church, we find traces of a particular reverence attached to the first day of the week. The special consecration of one day in seven was recommended by the analogy of the ancient sabbath; the first of the seven was that which the apostles selected, as commemorative of their Master's rising from the grave, with which a reference to the creation was combined.<sup>k</sup> On this day the believers of the apostolic age met together; they celebrated it with prayer, psalmody, preaching, administration of the Lord's Supper, and collections for the needs of the church; and according to their example the day was everywhere observed throughout the early centuries as one of holy joy<sup>l</sup> and thanksgiving. All fasting on it was forbidden; the congregation stood at prayers, instead of kneeling as on other days.<sup>m</sup> The first evidence of a cessation from worldly business on the Lord's day is found in Tertullian,<sup>n</sup> who, however, is careful (as are the early Christian writers in general)<sup>o</sup> to distinguish between the Lord's day and the Mosaic sabbath.

<sup>h</sup> Just. Mart. Apol. I. 65-7; Augusti, viii. 224; Giesel. I. i. 235.

<sup>i</sup> Clem. Alex. Strom. vii. 7, pp. 851, 854; Orig. c. Cels. viii. 22-3.

<sup>k</sup> Just. Mart. Apol. I. 67. On the whole subject of the Lord's day I may now refer to Dr. Hessey's Bampton Lectures for 1860.

<sup>l</sup> "Diem solis lætitiæ indulgemus."

Tertull. Apol. 16.

<sup>m</sup> Tert. de Corona, 3; Bingham. XX. ii. 5-6. See Dr. Pusey's note, pp. 417, seqq. in the Oxford translation of St. Ephrem.

<sup>n</sup> De Oratione, c. 23; See Neard. i. 409 Hessey, 63.

<sup>o</sup> See Hessey, Lecture II.



In memory of our Lord's betrayal and crucifixion, the fourth and sixth days of each week were kept as fasts by abstinence from food until the hour at which he gave up the ghost—the ninth hour, or 3 P.M.<sup>p</sup> In the manner of observing the seventh day, the eastern church differed from the western. The orientals, influenced by the neighbourhood of the Jews and by the ideas of Jewish converts, regarded it as a continuation of the Mosaic sabbath, and celebrated it almost in the same manner as the Lord's day; while their brethren of the west extended to it the fast of the preceding day.<sup>q</sup>

Agreeably to the analogy of the elder church, the first Christians assigned certain seasons to an annual remembrance of the great events in the history of redemption. Of these seasons the chief was the *Pascha*, which included the celebration both of the crucifixion and of the resurrection.<sup>r</sup> The festival of the resurrection was preceded by a solemn fast, as to the length of which the practice varied. Irenæus states that some were in the habit of keeping one day, some two days, some more, and some forty; but whether the forty ought to be understood as signifying days or hours is disputed.<sup>s</sup> In any case, the

<sup>p</sup> Bingham, XXI. iii. 2-3.

<sup>q</sup> Socr. v. 22; Sozom. vii. 19; Bingham, XX. iii. 1-6. Tertullian, before becoming a Montanist, took the western view (De Orat. 23); afterwards the eastern (De Jejun. 14). See Kaye on Tertull. 389; Neand. i. 410; and Hefele's note on the 26th canon of Illiberis. i. 138.

<sup>r</sup> Bingham, XXI. i. 31; Suicer, ii. 621. Augusti, i. 139; Neander, i. 415. The most plausible of the etymologies proposed for the German *Ostern* and the English *Easter* appear to be (1) from the old Teutonic *urston* (to rise up); (2) from the name of a Saxon goddess, whose festival fell about the same season. See Augusti, ii. 222; Milman, vi. 348.

<sup>s</sup> Οἱ μὲν γὰρ οἶονται μίαν ἡμέραν δεῖν αὐτοὺς νηστεύειν, οἱ δὲ δύο, οἱ δὲ καὶ πλείονας, οἱ δὲ τεσσαράκοντα ὥρας ἡμερινὰς τε καὶ νυκτερινὰς συμμετροῦσι τὴν ἡμέραν αὐτῶν. (Fragm. ap. Euseb. v. 24.) It is chiefly a question whether the sentence shall be pointed so as to make *τεσσαράκοντα* belong to *ἡμέρας* or to *ὥρας*. Alexandre Noël (v. Dissert. 4), Massuet, and Stieren (i. 824) are for understanding forty days. See Thordike, i. 283-5; Heinichen, Exc. VII. in Euseb. (t. iii. 379); Augusti, x. 395; Giesel. I. i. 240; Harvey's Irenæus, Introd. clxi. and vol. ii. p. 474; Hefele, i. 291.

observance of the fast was as yet voluntary, except on the day of the crucifixion.<sup>t</sup>

The whole pentecostal season—from Easter to Whitsuntide—was regarded as festival; as on Sundays, the people prayed standing, and all fasting was forbidden.<sup>u</sup> Whitsun-day itself was observed with especial solemnity; and in the course of the third century Ascension-day began to be also distinguished above the rest of the season.<sup>x</sup>

It would seem that at Rome the Saviour's birth was celebrated on the 25th of December;<sup>y</sup> that the eastern church (like the Basilidians)<sup>z</sup> kept the 6th of January in memory of the *Epiphany*—by which name was understood his manifestation as the Messiah at his baptism; and that when, in course of time, the commemoration of the nativity made its way into some parts of the east, it was also observed on the same day—the words of St. Luke iii. 23 being supposed to intimate that the baptism took place on the anniversary of the birth. The adoption of the Epiphany in the west (where a reference to other events in the gospel history was joined with, and at length supplanted, the subject of the old oriental festival), and the separate celebration of Christmas-day in the east, belong to the fourth century.<sup>a</sup>

<sup>t</sup> Iren. ap. Euseb. v. 24; Tert. de Orat. 18; Augusti, i. 157. See for the Lent fast, Socrat. v. 22; Sozom. vii. 19; Bp. Gunning's work on the subject; Bingh. XXI. i. 2-3; Suicer, s. v. *νηστεία*; Planck, i. 462; Giesel. I. i. 240.

<sup>u</sup> Iren. Fragm. t. i. 828; Tertull. de Cor. 3; de Jejun. 14; Cassian, Collat. xxi. 11, 20; Bingh. XIII. viii. 3; XX. vi. 1-3. It seems, however, that some did not extend the festival season beyond the *fortieth* day after Easter. See Hefele, i. 145.

<sup>x</sup> Bingham, XX. vi. 5; Neander, i. 416. The earliest mention is in the

Apostolical Constitutions (v. 19; viii. 33). Augusti thinks that the observance cannot be proved older than the fourth century. ii. 351-4.

<sup>y</sup> Augusti thinks that this was not before the fourth century. i. 213, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> See p. 71.

<sup>a</sup> Bingh. XX. iv. 2-6; Mosh. i. 372; Schröckh, x. 352-6; Neand. i. 417-18; iii. 435-440; Giesel. I. i. 376; ii. 288. Augusti, however, seems to think that the manifestation to the Gentiles was the *original* subject of the Epiphany. i. 152-4; 330-2. See below, Book II. c. vi. sect. v. 9.

The memory of martyrs was very early honoured by religious commemorations, as appears from the letter written in the name of the church of Smyrna on the death of St. Polycarp.<sup>b</sup> On the anniversary of a martyr's suffering (which was styled his *natalitia*,<sup>c</sup> or birthday, as being the day of his entrance on a better life) there was a meeting at the place of his burial—often a subterranean catacomb or crypt;<sup>d</sup> the acts of his passion were read, and the brethren were exhorted to imitate his virtues; prayer was made; the eucharist was celebrated, with an especial offering of thanks for the martyr;<sup>e</sup> and sometimes the *agape* followed.<sup>f</sup> But, although a belief early crept in that the intercession of martyrs had somewhat of a like power for opening the kingdom of heaven to that which was allowed them in restoring penitents to the communion of the earthly church,<sup>g</sup>—while it was supposed to obtain both forgiveness and grace for their brethren who were yet in the flesh—although Origen even ascribes to the deaths of martyrs an atoning effect akin to that of the Redeemer's sacrifice<sup>h</sup>—their interest was bespoken only by entreaties *before* their suffering; they, like the rest of the faithful departed, were supposed to have not as yet entered on the perfect blessedness of heaven; nor is there in the writings or in the sepulchral monuments of the early Christians any evidence of prayer either to the martyrs or through them after death.<sup>i</sup>

It does not appear that festivals were as yet assigned

<sup>b</sup> Cc. 17, 19; Giesel. I. i. 246-7.

<sup>c</sup> The heathen Greeks had used the word *γενέσια* to signify an anniversary celebration of the dead. See Herod. iv. 26; Alford on Matt. xiv. 6.

<sup>d</sup> Bingh. XX. vii. 8; Giesel. I. i. 377.

<sup>e</sup> Bingh. l. c.

<sup>f</sup> Ib. XX. vii. 10; Giesel. I. i. 379-31. It is related of St. Gregory Thau-

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maturgus that he introduced commemorations of martyrs into his church with a view of making up to his converts for the loss of the pagan festivals. Greg. Nyss. Vita S. Greg. Thaum. (Opera, ii. 1007.)

<sup>g</sup> Augusti, ix. 97.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 154.

<sup>i</sup> Schröckh, ix. 163-6; Neand. i. 463-

4 See Bp. Jacobson, PP. Apost. 586.

to the apostles, except in those churches with which they had been more especially connected.<sup>k</sup>

A service in remembrance of departed relatives was usual on the anniversaries of their deaths. The surviving kindred met at the grave; the eucharist was celebrated; an oblation for the deceased was laid on the altar with those of the living; and his name was mentioned in prayer, with a commendation to eternal peace.<sup>m</sup>

(7.) The commission of grievous error in life or doctrine was punished by exclusion from the communion of the church; and, in order to obtain re-admission, offenders were obliged to submit to a prescribed course of penance. The regulations as to the length and manner of this penance varied in different times, and in the several branches of the church;<sup>n</sup> the administration of it was chiefly in the hands of the bishops, who were at liberty to exercise their discretion in each case, on a consideration not only of the penitent's demeanour under the discipline, but of his entire history and character.<sup>o</sup> Reconciliation after the heaviest sins, such as murder, adultery, and idolatry, was allowed only once to the baptized. In some cases, the whole life was to be a period of penance; in some, reconciliation was not granted even in the hour of death,<sup>p</sup> although the refusal was not meant to imply that the sinner was shut out from the Divine forgiveness.<sup>q</sup> The church's office was not supposed in these ages to extend beyond prescribing the means which might best dispose the sinner's mind for seeking the mercy of God; Cyprian, Firmilian, and other teachers are careful to guard against the danger of

<sup>k</sup> Bingham, XX. vii. 11.

<sup>m</sup> Neand. i. 462-3.

<sup>n</sup> Martene, i. 266, seqq.; Giesel. I. i. 387-90.

<sup>o</sup> Conc. Ancy. A.D. 314, c. 5; Augusti, ix. 77.

<sup>p</sup> *E.g.* Conc. Illiber. A.D. 305 (?), cc. 1, 2, 7, &c. See Nat. Alex. vi. 156, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> Bingham, XVIII. iii. 3; iv. 1-2; Giesel. I. i. 240-4, 386; Kaye on Tertullian, 233.

imagining that ecclesiastical absolution could forestall the sentence of the last day.<sup>r</sup> The dissensions which took place at Rome and at Carthage in consequence of the persecution under Decius afford abundant evidence of the popular tendency to error in connexion with this subject.<sup>s</sup> The difficulties then felt in treating the cases of the lapsed led to the establishment in some churches of penitentiary priests, whose business it was to hear privately the confessions of offenders, and to direct them in the conduct of their repentance.<sup>t</sup> And towards the end of the third century, the system was further organized by a division of the penitents into four classes, each of which marked a particular stage in the course, and had a special place assigned to the members in the time of divine service.<sup>u</sup>

(8.) The churches of the early Christians had no images or pictures;<sup>x</sup> for the connexion of art with heathen religion and with the moral impurities of heathenism was regarded as a reason against the employment of it in sacred things.<sup>y</sup> It was through the usages of common life that art gradually found its way into the church. Instead of the figures or emblems of gods with which the heathen adorned their houses, their furniture, their cups, and their signets, the Christians substituted figurative representations, such as a shepherd carrying a lamb on his shoulders, emblematic of Christ

<sup>r</sup> Firmil. ad Cypr. (Cypr. Ep. 75), § 4; Cyp. Ep. lv. 18; de Lapsis, 17; Neand. i. 305-6; Giesel. I. i. 383-4.

<sup>s</sup> See above, pp. 164-9.

<sup>t</sup> Socrat. v. 19; Sozom. vii. 16; Augusti, ix. 161.

<sup>u</sup> The four were (1) *stentes*, (2) *audientes*, (3) *genuflectentes* or *substrati*, and (4) *consistentes*; i.e. weepers, hearers, kneelers, and standers. Bingham. XVIII. i. 3; Augusti, ix. 71; Giesel. I. i. 385.

<sup>x</sup> Origen says that the use of images is of the Ophites. C. Cels. vii. 4.

<sup>y</sup> Minuc. Fel. 10, 32; Suicer, s. v. *εἰκόν* t. i. 1014; Neand. i. 403-4; Pusey on Tertullian, 109; Piper, 'Mythologie u. Symbolik d. Christl. Kunst,' Weimar, 1847, i. 2; Kugler's Hist. of Painting in Italy, ed. Eastlake, Lond. 1851, p. 2; Blunt on the Fathers, 53-5; De Rossi, Roma Sotter. ii. 308, seqq.

the "good Shepherd;"<sup>z</sup> a dove, the symbol of the Holy Ghost; a ship, significant of the church, the ark of salvation, sailing towards heaven;<sup>a</sup> a fish, which, by its connection with water, conveyed an allusion to baptism, while the letters which formed its Greek name might be interpreted as designating the Saviour;<sup>b</sup> a lyre or an anchor, the types of Christian joy and hope.<sup>c</sup> And in this system were introduced even such heathen emblems as could be interpreted in a Christian sense by the initiated—for example, the vine of Bacchus and the phoenix.<sup>d</sup> In like manner the Saviour was represented as Orpheus, as Apollo, or (in his character of the good Shepherd) as Mercury; and Theseus slaying the Minotaur typified the victory of David over Goliath.<sup>e</sup> But as yet hardly any other than symbolical figures were used. Even in the catacombs of Rome, which were withdrawn from the sight of the heathen, symbol prevails over the attempt at literal representation, and the ideas of the New Testament are commonly figured under the likeness of the Old, as where the story of Jonah is made to serve for a type of the resurrection, and Moses striking the rock symbolizes the waters of baptism. Even from the gospel history types are chosen in preference to attempting a more direct representation. Thus the feast on the miraculously multiplied loaves and fishes signifies the eucharist, and perhaps the early pictures of the raising of Lazarus, in which he appears as a child, are rightly interpreted as meaning the spiritual rising from the death of

<sup>z</sup> Lord Lindsay on Christian Art, i. 40-1; See Tertull. de Pudic. 7, 10.

<sup>a</sup> Lindsay, i. 18.

<sup>b</sup> The word *ἰχθύς* (fish) being made up of the first letters of 'Ἰησοῦς Χριστός, Θεοῦ Υἱός, Σωτὴρ (Jesus Christ, Son of God, Saviour). (Optatus, iii. 2.) See two dissertations by Cardinal Itra and the Commendatore De Rossi,

in vol. iii. of the 'Spicilegium Solesmense,' and the section on the catacombs in Pressensé, iii. 108-134.

<sup>c</sup> Clem. Alex. Pæd. iii. 11, p. 289.

<sup>d</sup> De Rossi, Roma Sotterr. ii. 313-14.

<sup>e</sup> Hope on Architecture, 167; Piper, Mythol. u. Symb. i. 39, 67, 75, 77, 136.



sin in baptism.<sup>f</sup> Neither art nor tradition professed to convey an idea of the Saviour's human form,<sup>g</sup> while, on the supposed authority of some prophetic texts, it was generally believed to have been mean beyond that of mankind in general;<sup>h</sup> the earliest imaginary representations of him are met with, not among orthodox Christians, but among the Carpocratian heretics and in the eclectic heathenism of Alexander Severus.<sup>i</sup> Towards the end of the period, however, we find among the canons of the council of Illiberis one which forbids pictures in churches, "lest," it is said, "that which is worshipped and adored be painted on the walls."<sup>k</sup> Such an enactment is evidence at once of a recent and growing practice, and of the light in which it was regarded by the simple and austere mind of the Spanish church.

The figure of the cross (with which, as Tertullian witnesses,<sup>l</sup> it was the custom of the early Christians to sign their foreheads very frequently in the occasions of their daily life) was early introduced into churches. It had not, however, during this period assumed its place over the altar, nor was any devotion paid to it.<sup>m</sup>

<sup>f</sup> See De Rossi, ii. 331, 336-44.

<sup>g</sup> See Aug. de Trinit. viii. 4-8 (Patrol. xliii.); Bp. Ellicott's Hulsean Lectures, 87-8, 1st ed.

<sup>h</sup> (Isaiah lii. 14; liii. 2) Just. Dial. c. Tryph. 14, 88; Clem. Alex. Pædag. iii. 1; Strom. iii. 17, p. 559; vi. 17, p. 818; Tert. de Carne Christi, 9; Pusey in Tertullian (Oxf. transl.), 252.

<sup>i</sup> Sup. p. 133; Iren. I. xxv. 6; Hippol. vii. 32; Neand. i. 404-5; Giesel. I. i. 85, 375; Milman, iii. 505-8; Kugler, 3-11.

<sup>k</sup> Can. 36. See Nat. Alex. vi. 332, seqq.; Schröckh, v. 64; Neand. i. 405-6; and Gieseler, I. i. 375, who says

that the evasions by which Baronius and others attempted to avoid the force of this canon are now abandoned by Romanists, [as by Bp. Hefele, i. 141]. De Rossi thinks that the canon was dictated by a fear lest, on a renewal of persecution, pictures of sacred objects should be exposed to outrage. (Roma Sottterr. i. 99-100.) But (not to mention other objections) this is to assign a different motive from that which is expressed in the canon.

<sup>l</sup> De Corona, 3.

<sup>m</sup> Bingh. VIII. i. 20; Neand. i. 406; Giesel. I. i. 236; De Caumont, 'Abécédairé,' i. 142.

#### IV. *Moral Character of Christians—Asceticism— Celibacy.*

As the Christians of the early centuries embraced the gospel at the risk of much worldly sacrifice and suffering, we naturally expect to find that their lives were generally marked by a serious endeavour to realize their holy calling. And thus on the whole it was, although the condition of the church from the very beginning bore witness to the truth of those prophetic parables which had represented it as containing a mixture of evil members with the good. The apologists, while they acknowledge many defects among their brethren, are yet always able to point to the contrast between the lives of Christians and the utter degradation of heathen morals as an evidence of the power of the gospel.<sup>o</sup> No stronger proof of this contrast need be sought than the fact that the philosophers who undertook to reinvigorate the heathen system with a view of meeting the aggressions of the new religion, found a moral reformation no less necessary than a reform of the current doctrines of heathenism.<sup>p</sup>

The mutual love of Christians—a love which in its disinterested sympathy for all men was something wholly new to the heathen<sup>q</sup>—was that which most impressed those who viewed the church from without.<sup>r</sup> Their care of the poor, the aged, the widows, and the orphans of the community—their reverential ministrations to the brethren who were imprisoned for the faith—their kindness to slaves, whom the maxims of the ancient world

<sup>o</sup> *E.g.* Ep. ad Diognet. 5; Athenagor. Legat. 33-6; Theophil. ad Autolyc. iii. 16; Orig. c. Cels. iii. 30; vii. 48-9. See Blunt, c. vi.

<sup>p</sup> Neand. i. 348.

<sup>q</sup> Broglie, i. 160

<sup>r</sup> This even became a subject of ridicule; thus the representative of heathenism in Minucius Felix says, "Amant mutuo pæne antequam noverrint," etc. (c. 9) Comp. Tertull. Apol. c. 39

had regarded as mere animated tools,<sup>s</sup> whereas the gospel, while it did not interfere with the difference of social position, yet raised the slave to the footing of spiritual brotherhood with his master, and reminded the master that he too was the redeemed servant of Christ—the liberal gifts sent from one country to another for the relief of distress—the contributions raised in order to the deliverance of captives—the system of letters of communion,<sup>t</sup> which not only procured for Christians admission to spiritual privileges in every church which they might visit, but entitled them to the charity and good offices of its members—such were some of the tokens in which the spirit of love was conspicuously shown; and while the sight of these things had its due effect on many, as a witness for the faith which could produce such fruits, it probably became one means of attracting unworthy converts from the needy classes, through the hope of sharing in the bounty of the richer brethren.<sup>u</sup>

The force of Christian principle shone forth with especial lustre in seasons of general calamity. The charitable labours of Cyprian and his flock on occasion of the plague in the reign of Gallus have been already mentioned.<sup>x</sup> A like course was taken at the same time by Dionysius and the church of Alexandria; and, as we have lately seen, the Christian spirit was again nobly manifested by the Alexandrians during the famine and pestilence under Maximin.<sup>y</sup>

It was felt that in their ordinary life Christians ought to be marked as distinct from heathens. Certain occu-

<sup>s</sup> Aristot. Eth. Nicom. viii. 11. See Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 705-9; and as to the heathen want of charity towards the poor, 722-3.

<sup>t</sup> "Litteræ formatæ." See Planck, i. 104-7; Neand. i. 286, 353-5; Giesel. I. i. 41-4; Herzog. art. *Litteræ Formatæ*.  
<sup>u</sup> Totus orbis commercio formatarum

in una communione societate concordat," says Optatus, 'De Schism. Donat.' iii. 3 (Patrol. xi.).

<sup>u</sup> Neand. i. 348-9. Against Gibbon's exaggerations as to this, see Blunt on the Fathers, Ser. ii. Lect. 3.

<sup>x</sup> P. 171.

<sup>y</sup> P. 210.

pations were altogether forbidden—as those of diviners, actors, gladiators, charioteers, and makers of images.<sup>z</sup> A convert who had followed any such calling was required to forsake it before admission to baptism ; and, until he could find some other means of supporting himself, he was maintained from the funds of the church.<sup>a</sup> St. Cyprian strongly condemns a Christian, who, having been formerly a player, endeavoured to earn a livelihood by giving lessons in his old profession.<sup>b</sup> Attendance at theatres was forbidden, not only on account of the original connection between the drama and heathen religion, or of the frequent offences against decency and morality which occurred in the performances of the stage, but also because the waste of time on such frivolous amusements was considered to be inconsistent with the spiritual life.<sup>c</sup> Stories are told of judgments on persons who had ventured to disregard the rule ; thus Tertullian relates that a woman who went to a theatre returned home possessed of a devil, and that the evil spirit, on being reproached by the exorcist for assaulting one of the faithful, answered that he had a right to do so, inasmuch as he had found her on his own ground.<sup>d</sup> The games of the circus, the gladiatorial shows, and the combats of wild beasts, were interdicted in like manner. Some Christians, as we learn from Tertullian, attempted to argue that such prohibitions were not warranted by Scripture ; but the great African vehemently denounces the interested

<sup>z</sup> *E.g.* Const. Apost. viii. 32 ; Conc. Illib. A.D. 305 (?) c. 65 ; Augusti, vii. 130.

<sup>a</sup> Neand. i. 363-4.

<sup>b</sup> Ep. 9 ; Neand. i. 369-71. It is said that a player named Gelasinus, having on a white dress, was thrown by his fellows into a bath, in mockery of baptism, and that on coming out he declared himself to have been converted to Christianity by a vision

which he had seen at the moment of his immersion. He refused to appear again on the stage, and was stoned to death by the multitude in consequence. Chron. Paschal. A.D. 297. Comp. the account of St. Genesius, Acta SS., Aug. 25, p. 122.

<sup>c</sup> Neand. i. 365-7.

<sup>d</sup> “ In meo eam inveni.” (*De Spectac.* 26.) Against theatrical amusements in the latter part of the 5th

casuistry which sought to relax the severity of the church's laws.<sup>e</sup>

The sense of the obligation to be unlike the heathen, while it acted as a safeguard to the virtue of many Christians, was yet not without danger in other respects. It sometimes became a temptation to a narrow, self-satisfied, and contemptuous spirit; it incited to a needless and offensive display of differences; it tended to an overvaluation of mere outward distinctions and acts, in respect both of their necessity and of their importance.<sup>f</sup> Hence arose the extreme reverence for confessorship and martyrdom, without sufficient regard to the character and motives of the sufferers.<sup>g</sup> Hence too came the system of professing an extraordinary austerity, and a renunciation of things which were allowed to be lawful for the mass of believers. Such renunciation had been practised both among Jews and among heathens;<sup>h</sup> and as early, at least, as the beginning of the second century, there were some Christian ascetics who bound themselves to an especial strictness of living, but without any perpetual or irrevocable vows.<sup>i</sup> That the church, however, was not at that time disposed to attach an undue value to such exercises, may be inferred from the statement, that when one of the Lyonese martyrs, Alcibiades, attempted to continue in prison his custom of living on bread and water only, his fellow prisoner Attalus was charged in a

century, see Salvian, *de Gub. Dei*, vi. 3. A collection of passages from councils, fathers, etc., is appended to the 'Traité de la Comédie et des Spectacles,' Paris, 1666. See too Jeremy Collier's writings against the stage; and Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 726-7.

<sup>e</sup> *De Spectac.* 3, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> Neand. i. 359-60.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel. I. i. 244, 410-11; Kaye on Tertullian, 132.

<sup>h</sup> Eusebius (ii 17) and Sozomen (i.

13) conjecture that Philo (*De Vita Contemplat.*, Opera, ii. 471, seqq., ed. Mangey), in describing the Therapeutæ of Egypt, who lived by a sort of monastic rule, had in view a society of Christians; but the opinion is now generally abandoned.

<sup>i</sup> Mosh. 310-11; Giesel. I. i. 402; Theiner, i. 47. The title of ascetics (*ἀσκήται*) was borrowed from a similar class among the heathen Greeks. Mosh. 314-15; Neand. i. 380-3.

vision to warn him against refusing God's creatures and risking offence to his brethren; and that thereupon Alcibiades conformed to the usual diet.<sup>k</sup> The ascetic life was more fully reduced to system when the influence of Platonism grew on the church—bringing with it the idea, common in oriental religions, of attaining to a likeness of the Divine repose by a lofty abstraction from mundane things.<sup>m</sup> While ordinary believers were allowed to follow the usual business of the world, the higher spirits were to devote themselves to prayer and meditation; and in the countries where this division was first recognized, the influence of climate powerfully conduced to a preference of the contemplative over the active life.<sup>n</sup>

In the course of the second century societies had been formed for the purpose of living together under a religious rule.<sup>o</sup> Some, considering even such society to be too distracting, shut themselves up in utter seclusion; and in the third century these eremites,<sup>p</sup> or hermits, retired further from the haunts of men, to bury themselves in the wildest and most inaccessible solitudes. Paul of Alexandria has been mentioned as having withdrawn into the wilderness from the Decian persecution.<sup>q</sup> Antony, the most celebrated of the hermits, although his earlier history falls within this period, may more fitly be noticed hereafter.<sup>r</sup>

The state of celibacy was, from the first, regarded as higher than that of matrimony; nor is it easy to distinguish in how far the commendations of single life were founded on its advantages in times of distress, or on its exemption from the dangers of heathen connexion, and in how far they implied a belief in an essential superiority.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Euseb. v. 3.

<sup>m</sup> Mosh. 310; Kaye on Tertullian, 400-2; Theiner, i. 12.

<sup>n</sup> Mosh. 316-19; Giesel. I. i. 403.

<sup>o</sup> Mosh. 609; Gfrörer, i. 449.

<sup>p</sup> From ἐρημὸς, desert.

<sup>q</sup> P. 136.

<sup>r</sup> See Book II. c. vi. sect. iv.

<sup>s</sup> See Blunt on the Fathers, 243-9



When, however, this superiority was exaggerated by sectaries, so as to disparage the holiness of marriage, the members of the church earnestly combated such opinions.<sup>†</sup> It was found, too, that a profession of celibacy was not always enough to give security against the temptations of this world. Thus Tertullian, in his Montanistic days, threw out serious imputations against the character and motives of some who had been enrolled among the virgins of the African church;<sup>‡</sup> and Cyprian found himself obliged to write against the vanities of dress and demeanour in which the virgins of the same church in his time indulged.<sup>§</sup> Moreover, when the lawful intercourse of the sexes was forbidden or renounced, grievous scandals sometimes arose in its place.<sup>¶</sup>

The single life came by degrees to be considered especially suitable for the clergy;<sup>‡</sup> but no constraint was as yet put on them, although a progress of restriction may be observed during the period. Thus, whereas it appears, from Tertullian's invectives, that even second marriages were frequently contracted by the clergy of his day,<sup>‡</sup> we find the council of Illiberis, a century later, enacting that bishops, priests, deacons, and even the inferior clergy, should live with their wives as if unmarried.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>†</sup> *E.g.* Clem. Alex. Strom. iii. 6; Aug. c. Faust. xxx. 6. See Mosh. 312; Theiner, i. 51; Neand. i. 389.

<sup>‡</sup> De Veland. Virg. 14.

<sup>§</sup> 'De Habitu Virginum.'

<sup>¶</sup> See Cyprian, Ep. 4, as to the cohabitation of clergymen with the virgins of the church; Theiner, i. 89-92; Neand. i. 384; Giesel. I. i. 406; Newman in St. Athanasius, Tracts, 241.

<sup>‡</sup> Theiner, i. 71-3.

<sup>a</sup> He speaks of this indeed, not only as contrary to Scripture and apostolical discipline, but as a declension from the system which he himself remembered—"Usque adeo quosdam memini digamos loco dejectos." (De Exhort. Castit.

c. 7. See Kaye's Tertull. 210; Giesel. I. i. 238.) But perhaps we need not infer much as to earlier practice from the assertions of so passionate a writer.

<sup>b</sup> "Placuit in totum prohiberi episcopis, presbyteris, et diaconibus, vel omnibus clericis *positis in ministerio*, abstinere se a conjugibus suis," etc. (C. 33.) Schröckh (v. 63-4) infers from the words in italics that the canon applied only to the times when the clergy should be specially on duty. Giesel. (I. i. 405) supposes this to be the meaning as to the lower clergy, but that the prohibition for the higher orders is total. See Theiner, i. 79 82, Herzog, art. *Elvira*.

The severity of this rule was, however, beyond the general notions of the age. Other canons, about the same date, forbid the marriage of the higher clergy, but do not interfere with the conjugal relations of such as had been married before their ordination to the diaconate.<sup>c</sup>

The recognition of a distinction between a higher and a lower Christian life was dangerous, not only because it tended to encourage the mass of men in laxity, —so that the teachers of the church had often to combat excuses for careless living which rested on such grounds, —but also as laying a temptation to pride and self-sufficiency in the way of those who embraced the more exalted profession.<sup>d</sup> Yet both in this and in many other respects, although we may see in the first three centuries the germ of errors and mischiefs which afterwards became unhappily prevalent, their appearance is as yet only in the germ. Hence we may, at the same time, detect the evil which lurks in ideas and practices of those early days, and yet duly reverence the holy men who originated or advanced such ideas or practices, without any suspicion of the evil which was in them. An understanding Christian must never forget that, in the experience of the ages which have since passed, Providence has supplied him with instruction and warning which were not bestowed on the primitive church. He must remember that, for the formation of his own opinions, and for the guidance of his own conduct, he is bound to consider the proved results of things which at first were introduced as conducive to the further advancement of piety. While

<sup>c</sup> Giesel. I. i. 405. The 10th canon of the council of Ancyra, A.D. 314, enacts that persons who at their ordination as deacons signify an intention of marrying shall be allowed to do so; but that such as marry without having thus reserved the right, shall be sus-

pending. The 5th Apostolical canon forbids bishops, priests, or deacons to cast out their wives under pretext of religion.

<sup>d</sup> Neand. i. 386-7; Giesel. I. i. 410.

it is his duty to resist every feeling which would lead him to exalt himself above earlier and more simple times, he must yet, with a due sense of responsibility for the use of the means of judgment which have been vouchsafed to him, endeavour to discriminate, by the lights of Scripture and history, not only between absolute truth and fully developed falsehood, but between wholesome and dangerous tendencies, and to ascertain the boundaries at which lawful progress ends and corruption begins.

## BOOK II.

FROM CONSTANTINE TO THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS THE GREAT, A.D. 313-395.

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### CHAPTER I.

CONSTANTINE—DONATISM—ARIANISM.

A.D. 313-337.

I. THE idea that the emperors of Rome might be Christians had been regarded by Tertullian as one which involved in consistency and impossibility ;<sup>a</sup> but it was now to be realized.

Constantine had probably been trained in the religion of his father, which appears to have been an eclectic system, founded on the belief in one supreme God.<sup>b</sup> Some years of his youth were spent at the court of Diocletian and Galerius in the character of a hostage,<sup>c</sup> and while thus detained he had opportunities of observing the deceits by which the pagan priesthood endeavoured to influence the emperor's mind ;<sup>d</sup> he witnessed the publica-

<sup>a</sup> After saying that Pilate was "jam pro sua conscientia Christianus" and reported our Lord's history to Tiberius, he continues, "Sed et Cæsares credidissent, si aut Cæsares non essent sæculo necessarii, aut si et Christiani potuissent esse Cæsares." *Apol.* 21.

<sup>b</sup> Schröckh, v. 63 ; Beugnot, i. 55. On Constantine, see Stanley, *Lect.* vi. on the Eastern Church.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. *de Vita Const.* 19 ; *De Mort. Persec.* 19, 24, and notes in *Patrol.* vii. 338, 507.

<sup>d</sup> See p. 202.

tion of the persecuting edict at Nicomedia and the horrors which followed.<sup>e</sup> When hailed by the legions A.D. 306.  
 in Britain as his father's successor, he con- Ætat. 32.  
 tinued and extended the toleration which Constantius had bestowed on the Christians :<sup>f</sup> but it would seem that in this he was rather influenced by indifference and by political considerations than by any inclination to embrace their religion. Whatever his secret belief may have been, he continued to share in all the public rites of paganism, and professed to regard Apollo as his especial patron.<sup>g</sup>

The most critical event in Constantine's religious history took place in the year 312, as he was on his march against Maxentius. Eusebius<sup>h</sup> tells us that, as the tyrant was known to be preparing for the struggle by magical and superstitious rites, Constantine felt the need of supernatural aid in order to cope with him, and therefore considered to what god he should betake himself; that, remembering how his father had always been blessed with prosperity, whereas the persecutors of Christianity had come to miserable ends, he resolved to forsake the service of idols, and prayed to the god of Constantius—the one supreme Being; and that, as he was engaged in such thoughts, he saw in the sky, soon after mid-day,<sup>i</sup> a luminous cross, with the words "By this conquer." While perplexed by the vision the emperor fell asleep; when the Saviour appeared to him, bearing in his hand the same symbol which had been displayed

<sup>e</sup> Const. Oratio ad Sanctorum Cœtum, c. 25, appended to Life by Eusebius.

<sup>f</sup> De Mort. Persec. 24.

<sup>g</sup> Eumenius, Panegy. ad Const. c. 21 (Patrol. viii. 638); Tillem. Emp. iv. 125-6; Mosh. 953-4. Apollo was, however, considered to be a pagan representative of the Saviour, so that the worship paid to him might be interpreted in an esoteric sense, or his ser-

vice might be a preparation for the reception of the gospel. Giesel. I. i. 270.

<sup>h</sup> De Vita Const. i. 27-32. Cf. De Mort. Persec. 44; Socrat. i. 2; Sozom. i. 3.

<sup>i</sup> See Heinichen on Euseb. de Vita Const. pp. 523-4. The scene of the vision is placed by some writers in Gaul (Tillem. Emp. iv. 128, 632); by others, near Rome. Milman, ii. 351.

in the heavens, commanding him to use it as his standard in war, and giving him the assurance of victory. On awaking, Constantine described the ensign which had been shown to him in his dream, and from that time his troops marched under the protection of the *labarum*—a banner on which the cross was combined with the first letters of the Redeemer's name.<sup>k</sup> The emperor then sought and received from the Christian clergy instruction as to the meaning of the vision which had been vouchsafed to him; and after his victory at the Milvian Bridge he erected at Rome a statue of himself, holding in his right hand a cross, while the inscription attributed his victory to the power of that "saving sign."<sup>1</sup>

The story of a vision or dream in which the cross was displayed to Constantine, with a charge that he should use it as a device, and with a promise of victory, is also related by other ecclesiastical writers. But it is told with variations which, while they add to the presumption that it had some foundation in truth, increase the difficulties of the account which Eusebius professed to have received, under the sanction of an oath, from the emperor shortly before his death.<sup>m</sup> The literal accuracy of these narratives will now find few defenders.<sup>n</sup> Educated as Constantine had been, and after the experience through which he had passed, it is extremely improbable that he

<sup>k</sup> On the Labarum, see Augusti, xii. 109-15. The name is said to occur on coins even of the republican times (Herzog, s.v.), and some suppose the form with the cross to have been older than Constantine. De Rossi is inclined to refer one inscription in which the monogram occurs to the year 298 (Inscr. Christ. i. 28-9). The etymology of the name has been much disputed without any satisfactory result. (See Papebroch, Acta SS., Mai. 21, p. 19). The standard was guarded by fifty chosen men, whom it was supposed

to render invulnerable. Euseb. de V. C. ii. 7-9; Sozom. i. 3; Gibbon, ii. 154.

<sup>1</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. ix. 9; V. C. i. 40. Gibbon (ii. 154) and Heinichen (in Euseb. V. C.) think it more likely that the statue was erected during a later visit of the emperor to Rome.

<sup>m</sup> See Gibbon, ii. 154; Schröckh, v. 72, seqq.; Murdock, n. on Mosheim, i. 290.

<sup>n</sup> See, however, Newman on Ecclesiastical Miracles, 133-144.



could have been so utterly unacquainted with everything relating to Christianity as the historians here represent him. Perhaps we may fairly suppose that he had been accustomed to regard the Christian God as one of many—as standing on a level with the host of pagan deities; that the circumstances of his opposition to Maxentius may have turned his thoughts towards this God, and that he may have been on the outlook for some omen of the future; that he may have seen a remarkable appearance in the air, which to his excited imagination bore the form of the Christian symbol,<sup>o</sup> while, although his soldiers witnessed the same sight, it had not for them the shape or the meaning with which the emperor's fancy invested it;<sup>p</sup> that the motto (if not to be explained in the same manner as the cross itself) may possibly have been nothing more than the inference drawn from the phenomenon; that the dream was a continuation of the thoughts in which the mind had before been engaged. And, if it be assumed that Eusebius reported his hero's relation with perfect accuracy, it is surely not unwarrantable to suppose that the other circumstances may have grown up within the emperor's mind in the course of years, as his adhesion to the Christian faith became more entire, and as his continued prosperity confirmed him in the belief that

<sup>o</sup> Ominous appearances in the sky are related both by Christian and by pagan writers of that age—among them, another vision of the cross, seen in 351 at Jerusalem, and in the same hour at Mursa, where the army of Constantius was engaged with that of Magnentius. (Chron. Paschal. A.D. 351.) St. Cyril of Jerusalem, who attests this appearance (Ep. ad Const. p. 247, ed. Prevot, Paris, 1640), although he mentions the discovery of the cross at Jerusalem in Constantine's reign, says nothing of that emperor's vision. Comp. Sozom. iv. 5; Philostorg. iii. 26,

and for later instances see Fabricius, vi. 712-16; Giesel. I. i. 271; Benedict. Petriburg. ed. Hearne, 496, 519; Matth. Paris, Hist. Min. ii. 297; Molinet, v. 146, ed. Buchon; and the somewhat suspicious stories told by Cæsarius of Heisterbach, Dialog. x. 37-40. Even so lately as 1863 the newspapers reported an appearance of this kind in connexion with the Polish insurrection.

<sup>p</sup> Thus we may understand how (as is stated) *all* saw it, and yet it was not generally known when Constantine long after related the story to Eusebius.

he was an especial favourite of Heaven—a belief which is strongly marked throughout his career.<sup>q</sup>

The benefit conferred on the Christians by the edicts of 312 and 313 was toleration, not ascendancy over other religions;<sup>r</sup> and if we attempt to discover the progress of Constantine's own opinions by his acts and legislation,<sup>s</sup> we find that much is doubtful and perplexing in the history of his next years. He spoke of "the Divinity" in vague and ambiguous terms.<sup>t</sup> He omitted the secular games, which in the ordinary course would have been celebrated in 314, and, to the great indignation of the Romans, he refused to take part in the rites of Jupiter Capitolinus.<sup>u</sup> He favoured the Christians in many ways; he bestowed munificent gifts on the community, and built churches; he committed the education of his son Crispus to the celebrated Christian rhetorician Lactantius;<sup>x</sup> he associated much with bishops, frequently making them the companions of his table and of his journeys; he interfered in the settlement of religious disputes.<sup>y</sup> In 313 he exempted the catholic clergy from the decurionate<sup>z</sup>—an office which, from having once been an object of ambition, had come to be generally regarded as an oppressive burden, on account of the expense, the labour, and the unpopular functions connected with it.<sup>a</sup> As it was found that, in consequence of this law, many persons, whose property rendered them eligible as decu-

<sup>q</sup> Fabric. vi. 701-8; see Mosh. 971-7, 980-6; Gibbon, ii. 158-9, and Milman's notes; Schröckh, v. 63-89; Augusti, xii. 106-8; Heinichen on Euseb. de V. C., 522-3; Neand. iii. 10-16; Giesel. I. i. 271; Beugnot, i. 66; Milman, ii. 349-53; Broglie, i. 218, and Append. C.; Gass in Herzog, iii. 132.

<sup>r</sup> Mosh. 964, 973-4; Milm. iii. 357.

<sup>s</sup> His laws are arranged chronologically in the Latin 'Patrologia,' vol. viii.

<sup>t</sup> Beugnot, i. 78.

<sup>u</sup> Ibid. 74-5.

<sup>x</sup> Hieron. de VV. Illustr. 80.

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. V. Const. i. 42-4; Heinichen in Euseb. 509-10.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. H. Eccl. x. 7. Cf. Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 1; v. 1 (A.D. 326).

<sup>a</sup> See the laws against exemptions and evasions, Cod. Theod. XII. tit. i.; Cod. Just. X. xxxi. seqq.; also Gibbon, ii. 49-50; Savigny, i. 44-9; and the account of the duties of the office in Guizot, 'Civilization in France,' Lect 2

rions,<sup>b</sup> pressed into the minor orders of the church for the purpose of obtaining an exemption, Constantine afterwards ordered that no person qualified for the decurionate should be admitted to ordination; that the clergy should be chosen from the poorer members of the church; and that only so many should be ordained as were necessary to fill up vacant places.<sup>c</sup> But when some cities attempted to reclaim those who had become clerks with the object of evading civil office, the emperor ordered that such persons as were already ordained should not be molested.<sup>d</sup>

It would appear that in 315 Constantine exempted the lands of ecclesiastics from the ordinary taxes—an exemption which was afterwards withdrawn.<sup>e</sup> In the same year he abolished crucifixion as a punishment,<sup>f</sup> and decreed that any Jews who should attempt to raise a tumult against Christians should be burnt.<sup>g</sup> In 316 he allowed that the emancipation of slaves, which had until then been performed before a magistrate, might also take place in churches; and, in order to give popularity to the new method, it was divested of many troublesome formalities with which the act of emancipation had formerly been encumbered.<sup>h</sup> By two laws of the year 319 he forbade private sacrifices and divination, and ordered that priests or diviners should not enter dwelling-houses for the exercise of their art, under the penalty of being burnt. But by the same laws the public exercise of such rites was still permitted;<sup>i</sup> and two years later, while the practice of magic with any hurtful object was severely

<sup>b</sup> The qualification was the possession of 25 acres of land. Guizot, i. 305.

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 3 (A.D. 320); ib. vi. (A.D. 326). The first constitution to this effect is lost.

<sup>d</sup> Patrol. viii. 200.

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. XI. i. 1; Giesel. I. ii. 164 The measure has been by some

referred to Constantius. The last editor of the code, Haenel, dates it in 313. Patrol. viii. 200.

<sup>f</sup> Aurel. Victor, 41; Sozom. i. 8.

<sup>g</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. viii. 1.

<sup>h</sup> Soz. i. 9. See Cod. Theod. IV. vii. 2, and notes; Schröckh, v. 93.

<sup>i</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvi. 1-2.

denounced, the emperor sanctioned the use of magical means for bodily cures, or for the prevention of storms.<sup>k</sup> In 321 an edict was issued for the general observance of Sunday. Agricultural labours were to be carried on, but in the towns there was to be a cessation from traffic and from judicial business; and even the heathen soldiers were obliged to repeat on that day a prayer to the supreme Deity.<sup>l</sup> In the same year, as a concession to the zeal of the Christians for celibacy, the old laws against unmarried and childless persons were abolished;<sup>m</sup> and by another edict the church was allowed to receive legacies—a privilege which, in the event, had an important effect on its temporal condition.<sup>n</sup>

But as to all these enactments and proceedings it is questionable in how far they may be regarded as evidence of the emperor's personal disposition towards Christianity. The omission of the secular games, and the slight offered to the Capitoline Jupiter, need not have meant anything beyond a contempt for the popular religion.<sup>o</sup> The laws which conferred privileges and removed disabilities did no more than put the Christian community on a level with the heathens, or even with the Jews. The private divinations condemned by Constantine were not properly a part of the old religion, but rather were a corruption which a reformer in the interest of that religion would have wished to abolish; they were, moreover, objectionable on political grounds, and had therefore been censured by Diocletian, by Tiberius, and even by so ancient an authority as the laws of the twelve

<sup>k</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvi. 3.

<sup>l</sup> Cod. Justin. III. xii. 3; Euseb. iv. 18-20. See Hessey, Bampton Lect. 77-86. Eusebius perhaps (for the text is doubtful, c. 18) and Sozomen certainly (i. 8, p. 10) speak also of a law for the observance of Friday. See Giesel. l. i.

274; Hessey, 87.

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. VIII. xvi. 1; Euseb. iv. 26.

<sup>n</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 4; Schröckh, v. 91-2.

<sup>o</sup> Beugnot, i. 75.

tables.<sup>p</sup> Nay, even the law for the observance of Sunday—the festival of the sun, or Apollo, called by its heathen name—while it had its special and sacred meaning for Christians, might have been regarded by the rest of Constantine's subjects as merely adding to the number of holidays by an exercise of the pontifical authority which belonged to him as emperor.<sup>q</sup>

In seeking to understand Constantine's policy as to religion, we must distinguish between the sovereign and the man. As emperor he desired that his subjects should live in peace and order, and that the framework of the constitution should be preserved; in this capacity, therefore, it was his interest to avoid offending the prejudices of his people, to extend to all an equal protection, to allow in religion a freedom of thought limited only by the necessities of civil government. In his private opinions, which were probably at first vaguely monotheistic, he received a determination in favour of Christianity about the time of his march against Maxentius, and thenceforth advanced by degrees until at length he openly avowed the faith of the gospel. By thus considering separately his official and his personal character, we may perhaps best understand much that at first sight appears inconsistent; how he retained throughout his life the office of Pontifex Maximus, the highest in the pagan hierarchy; <sup>r</sup> how he took part in heathen ceremonies, regarding them as attached to his imperial function; how, in two edicts of the same year, he "enjoined

<sup>p</sup> Beugnot, i. 81-2; Milm. iii. 359-60. The Duke de Broglie remarks that Constantine had the advantage of being able to attack the very heart of paganism without altering the laws. i. 309. Comp. i. 346.

<sup>q</sup> Mosh. 975; Beugnot, i. 83; Gieseler, I. i. 272-4.

<sup>r</sup> Pagi (in Bar. A.D. 312. 100) and

Tillemont (Emp. iv. 635) argue that, although the title was given by the pagan subjects, the acceptance of it by Christian emperors is not proved. It conferred much influence, and did not require any *actual* idolatry. Schröckh, v. 133. See Beugnot, i. 90-4.

the solemn observance of Sunday, and directed the regular consultation of the aruspices."<sup>s</sup>

The joint triumph of Constantine and Licinius over Maxentius and Maximin was soon followed by differences which were decided by the defeat of Licinius in the battles of Cibalis and Mardia.<sup>t</sup> By a new partition of the empire all Europe, except Thrace, was assigned to Constantine ; (Clinton.) but a revival of jealousies produced another war, which ended in the ruin of Licinius. This prince, whom some writers have very improbably supposed to have been once a catechumen,<sup>u</sup> oppressed his Christian subjects, perhaps regarding their religion as a token of inclination to his rival's interest. He demolished churches, put some bishops to death, and it is said that he was on the point of giving orders for a general persecution when he was diverted by the progress of Constantine. The emperors mustered their hosts under the standards of Christ and of heathenism respectively ; each party relied on presages and visions which were supposed to come from heaven ; and the triumph of Constantine was especially ascribed to the God of Christians. From that time pagan emblems disappear from his coins, and he declares himself in his edicts to be an instrument of God for spreading the true faith.<sup>x</sup>

Constantine now recalled all Christians who were in exile or in the mines ; he ordered that those who had been deprived of public employments on account of their

<sup>s</sup> Gibbon, ii. 145. The law as to the aruspices is Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 1. See Pagi in Baron. iv. 24-6 ; Mosh. 973-4 ; Heinichen in Euseb. de V. Const. 511 ; Neand. iii. 26-8 ; Beugnot, i. 89.

<sup>t</sup> Gibbon, i. 439-41.

<sup>u</sup> See Pagi in Baron. iii. 637 ; Tillem. Emp. iv. 503 ; Broglie, i. 316.

<sup>x</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. 8 ; Vit.

Const. i. 51-6 ; ii. 1-17 ; Socr. i. 3 ; Giesel. I. i. 275. Licinius was allowed to retire to Thessalonica, where he was put to death in the following year "contra jus sacramenti," according to St. Jerome (Chron. A.D. 328), while other Christian writers impute treasonable designs to him. See Gibbon, i. 450 ; Broglie, i. 327.



religion should be reinstated, that the property of martyrs should be restored to their heirs, and that, if no heirs could be discovered, it should be given to the church.<sup>y</sup> In an edict addressed to all his subjects, he advised them to embrace the gospel; but at the same time he professed to wish that it should be advanced by means of persuasion only.<sup>z</sup> He endeavoured, however, to render it attractive by bestowing employments and honours on proselytes of the higher classes, and by donations to the poor—a course which, as Eusebius himself acknowledges, produced a great amount of hypocrisy and pretended conversion.<sup>a</sup> He ordered that churches should be everywhere built, of a size sufficient to accommodate the whole population.<sup>b</sup> He forbade the erection of images of the gods,<sup>c</sup> and would not allow his own statue to be set up in temples.<sup>d</sup> All state sacrifices were prohibited, and such of the provincial governors and officials as adhered to the old religion were ordered to abstain from rites of this kind; yet other public sacrifices—those which were undertaken by the priests, as distinguished from ceremonies performed in the name of the state—were allowed to continue. There is reason to suppose that in the end of his reign Constantine issued an edict against them; but if so, it was little enforced.<sup>e</sup>

While the emperor exerted himself for the elevation of the Christian community, he refrained from any such attacks on the religion of the majority as would have been likely to excite opposition.<sup>f</sup> His measures were intended to appear as a reform of abuses which had crept into the pagan system—not as directed against

<sup>y</sup> Euseb. ii. 20-1.

<sup>z</sup> Ibid. 24-42, 56.

<sup>a</sup> Ibid. iii. 21, 58; iv. 1, 28, 38.

<sup>b</sup> Ibid. ii. 45.

<sup>c</sup> Ibid.

<sup>d</sup> Ibid. iv. 16. See Schröckh, v. 103

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. i. 44-5. The law against all

sacrifices does not exist, but is mentioned by Constantius, Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 2. See Giesel. I. iii. 8; Milman, ii. 460-3.

<sup>f</sup> Deugnot, i. 71-3; 98-101; Gibbon, ii. 245-6.

that system itself. Commissioners were sent throughout the empire, with instructions to visit the temples and to inquire into the worship which was performed in them; and these commissioners, although unarmed, and unprotected by any military guard, were allowed to do their work without hindrance—a circumstance which shows how little hold the heathen religion retained on the general mind. In consequence of this visitation, many statues were stripped of their precious ornaments, destroyed, or carried away, and many impostures of the priests were exposed.<sup>g</sup> Constantine respected the temples in general, but he shut up and unroofed some which were almost deserted, turned others into churches, and destroyed those which had been the scenes of immoral rites or of pretended miracles.<sup>h</sup>

The change in the position of Rome towards the empire, which had originated in the policy or in the caprice of Diocletian, was carried further by Constantine. He paid only two visits to the city after that which followed his victory over Maxentius; and his reception was not such as to make a favourable impression on his mind.<sup>i</sup> With wonderful speed a new capital, called after the emperor's name, was raised on the site of Byzantium.<sup>k</sup> Whereas Rome was the chief stronghold of heathenism,<sup>l</sup> Constantinople was to be wholly a Christian city. Churches were erected in every quarter. Statues of gods and illus-

<sup>g</sup> The proceedings of the royal commissioners under Henry VIII. and Edward VI. suggest a parallel which continually recurs throughout the history of the abolition of paganism.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. iii. 54-8.

<sup>i</sup> Gibbon, i. 434; Broglie, ii. 92-5. The pagan Zosimus says that Constantine built his new capital because he was unable to bear the execrations of the Romans on account of his having put his wife and son to death. (ii. 30.)

A curious mediæval legend as to the foundation is given by Will. Malmesh. sect. 354 (Patrol. clxxix.) and by Gunther, *Hist. captæ a Latinis Cpoleos*, 16 (Ibid. ccxii.).

<sup>k</sup> Tillemont says that it was founded in 328, and ready for occupation in 330 (Emp. iv. 230). Comp. Pagi in Baron iv. 75-8; Gibbon, ii. 17; Broglie, ii. c. 6.

<sup>l</sup> Beugnot. i. 97; Broglie, ii. 91.

trious men were removed from the cities and temples of Greece and Asia<sup>m</sup> to decorate the streets and public places, while they served as trophies of victory over the old religion. The chief room of the palace was adorned with representations of sacred subjects, among which was one of the crucifixion. The gladiatorial shows, and other barbarous exhibitions which formed the delight of the Romans, were never allowed at Constantinople, although in the older capital the popular feeling was as yet so strong that the emperor did not venture to interfere with it.<sup>n</sup>

In the outward duties of religion Constantine was very diligent. He caused himself to be represented in the attitude of prayer on coins and medals and in statues;<sup>o</sup> he studied the Scriptures,<sup>p</sup> and regularly attended the services of the church; he kept the paschal vigil with great devotion;<sup>q</sup> he listened, standing, to the longest addresses of his bishops;<sup>r</sup> he even composed religious discourses, and after they had been translated from Latin into Greek, with which he was but imperfectly acquainted, he delivered them before his court.<sup>s</sup> One of these sermons<sup>t</sup> is still extant, having been preserved as a specimen by Eusebius, to whom it is probably indebted for more than its Greek idiom.<sup>u</sup> In this composition the emperor recommends the Christian religion, dwelling on the evidence borne by prophecy, with which he classes the Sibylline verses and the fourth Eclogue of Virgil; and,

<sup>m</sup> "Constantinopolis dedicatur, pæne omnium urbium nuditate."—Hieron. Chron. A.D. 334; cf. Zosim. v. 24; Chron. Pasch. A.D. 328.

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. iii. 48-9, iv. 25; Sozom. ii. 5; Tillem. iv. 209; Schröckh, v. 104-5. There is a law of Constantine against the "bloody spectacles" of gladiators (Cod. Theod. XV. xiii. 1, A.D. 325); but Godefroy shows in his comments that it was intended only for the east,

or perhaps only for Phœnicia. For the abolition of these spectacles at Rome see below, c. vii.

<sup>o</sup> Euseb. iv. 15.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. i. 32, iv. 17.

<sup>q</sup> Ib. iv. 22.

<sup>r</sup> Ib. 33.

<sup>s</sup> Ib. 29, 32.

<sup>t</sup> Oratio ad Sanctorum Cœtum, Patrol. viii. 399, seqq.

<sup>u</sup> Broglie, ii. 79.

as was his custom, insisting strongly on the contrast between his own prosperity and the calamities of princes who had persecuted the church. In his journeys he was accompanied by a travelling chapel.<sup>v</sup> Bishops were his chosen associates; and too many of them were dazzled by the splendour of such a position, so that he found them willing to let his faults pass uncensured, and to admit a dangerous amount of interference in spiritual things.<sup>x</sup> Eusebius<sup>y</sup> relates that one of these bishops—probably the historian himself—went so far in flattering the emperor with assurances of salvation as even to draw down a rebuke from him. It ~~has~~ indeed been maintained that Constantine's Christianity was merely a matter of policy; but the charge is palpably unjust; for although some of his measures as to religion were unquestionably dictated by political interest,—although his understanding of Christian doctrine was very imperfect, and his life was far from being that of a consistent believer,—there is no reasonable ground for doubting that his conviction was sincere, and that he earnestly endeavoured to employ his power for the benefit of the church and for the extension of the truth.<sup>z</sup>

The emperor's mother, Helena, was induced by him to embrace his new religion,<sup>a</sup> and during the remaining years of her life distinguished herself by the fervour of her zeal and devotion. In 326 she visited the Holy Land, with the intention of seeking out the places which had been hallowed by the chief events of Scripture

<sup>v</sup> Euseb. ii. 12; Tillem. Emp. iv. 291.

<sup>x</sup> Schröckh, v. 109, 113, 397; Neander, iii. 31-3; Newman on Arianism, 284. On Constantine's relations to the church, see below, c. vi. sect. ii.

<sup>y</sup> iv. 48.

<sup>z</sup> Mosh. 970; Schröckh, v. 139-41, 395-8; Planck, i. 243-5; Neander, vi. 369; Broglie, *passim*. Niebuhr says of him that "he had taken up the

Christian faith as a superstition, and had mixed it with all the rest of his superstition." Vortr. ed. Isler, iii. 302.

<sup>a</sup> So Eusebius expressly states (iii. 47); and there seems to be no sufficient ground for the belief of many writers that she had been a Christian before Constantine, and had brought him up in the faith, or had influenced his conversion.

history. The site of the holy sepulchre was to be marked by a church which should exceed all others in splendour.<sup>b</sup> The temple of Venus, with which Hadrian had defiled the place, was demolished; the earth below it was dug up as polluted, when, it is said, three crosses were discovered, and near them the label on which the superscription had been written over the Saviour's head. As, however, there was not enough to distinguish with certainty the cross on which he had suffered, Macarius, bishop of the city, proposed a test. A lady of his flock, who was supposed to be at the point of death, was carried to the spot; prayers were put up that the true cross might be revealed through her cure; and, after two of the three had been applied to her in vain, the third wrought an instantaneous recovery.<sup>c</sup> In addition to the place of the entombment, those of the nativity and the ascension, and the site of the oak or turpentine-tree of Mamre, were covered with churches, in token of Helena's piety, and of the unrestricted bounty which Constantine enabled her to exercise.<sup>d</sup>

The reign of Constantine was marked by the beginning of two great controversies—the Donatistic and the Arian: the former arising in the west, out of a disagreement as to discipline; the latter, of eastern origin, involving the very essence of Christian doctrine. The emperor took part in both, but the goodness of his intentions was not always directed by knowledge and sound judgment. Wielding an absolute power, and imperfectly

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. iii. 25-6, 31; Soc. i. 9.

<sup>c</sup> Rufin. i. 7-8; Soc. i. 17; Soz. ii. 1; Theod. i. 18. Eusebius, while he minutely describes the discovery of the sepulchre (iii. 25-8), says nothing of the cross. Moreover, according to him, the excavations were made by order of Constantine, and before Helena's pilgrimage. Nor is the cross mentioned by a Gaulish pilgrim who

described Jerusalem seven years after Helena's visit (*Itinerar. Burdigalense*, Patol. viii. 790-2). See Gieseler, I. ii. 279, for the growth of the story, which, however, is defended by Dr. Newman (*On Miracles*, 146-7), and the Duke de Broglie, ii. 119.

<sup>d</sup> Euseb. ii. 41-2, 47, 51-2; Soz. ii.

instructed as to the faith which he professed, he was continually tempted to confound religious with civil considerations. Sometimes the desire to preserve peace among his subjects induced him to view error with indifference; at other times he regarded and punished the proceedings of religious parties as offences against his imperial authority.

II. We have repeatedly had occasion to notice the peculiar character which marked the Christianity of northern Africa. In that country Montanism had found a congenial soil, and had acquired its great champion, Tertullian. From Africa, too, it was that the Novatianist sect had in part derived its origin; and there its rigid principles had been received with the greatest enthusiasm. There the strict view as to the nullity of schismatical baptism had been maintained by Cyprian; and in the history of that great bishop we have seen the extravagant honour which the Christians of Africa attached to the outward acts of martyrdom and confessorship.

In the persecution under Diocletian many of the African Christians exhibited the characteristic spirit of their country.<sup>e</sup> They endeavoured to provoke martyrdom by violent behaviour; in some cases, it is said, they were impelled to this by debts, disrepute, or wretchedness, and by the hope of at once washing away in their blood the sins and crimes of a whole life.<sup>f</sup> To all such courses Mensurius, bishop of Carthage, was strongly opposed. He himself, when asked to give up the sacred books of his church, substituted for them some heretical writings.<sup>g</sup> He forbade his people to visit

\* For documents relating to the Donatistic schism, see Dupin's appendix to St. Optatus, and the appendix to the ninth volume of St. Augustine (Patrol. tt. viii., xi., xliii.).

<sup>f</sup> Augustin. Brevicul. Collat. c. Donatistis, iii. 25.

<sup>g</sup> See above, p. 206. The Donatists afterwards maintained, (1) that, if this story were true, Mensurius acted



in prison those who had ostentatiously courted death; he refused to acknowledge such persons as martyrs;<sup>h</sup> and in carrying out this policy his chief instrument was his archdeacon, Cæcilian.

In the year 305, a synod of about twelve bishops met at Cirta (now Constantine) to elect a bishop for that city. The president, Secundus, bishop of Tigisis and primate of Numidia,<sup>i</sup> began by inquiring into the conduct of his brethren during the late persecution. Several confessed that they had delivered up the Scriptures; one, Purpurius by name, on being charged with the murder of two of his nephews, told Secundus that he was not to be frightened by such questions; that he had killed, and would kill, all who stood in his way;<sup>k</sup> and he taxed Secundus himself with being a traditor. When the inquiry had proceeded so far as to inculcate the greater part of the bishops who were present, one of them proposed that, for the sake of peace, past offences should be forgotten, and that every one should make his account to God alone; and the synod, acting on this suggestion, proceeded to elect one who had been a traditor, Silvanus, to the see of Cirta. It is to be noted that the very persons who on this occasion were so lenient towards the crime of traditorship became afterwards the chief leaders of the more rigid party.<sup>l</sup>

Although Mensurius had incurred much enmity by his conduct during the persecution, the spirit which he had

wrongly; (2) that it was not true, but that the books which he gave up were the Scriptures. Aug. loc. cit.

<sup>h</sup> Aug. ib.; Neand. iii. 259-60. This was in accordance with the judgment of his contemporary St. Peter of Alexandria (Routh, Rel. Sac. iv. 32-7), and with the 60th canon of the council of Illiberis (see p. 211). Comp. Jer. Taylor, ed. Eden, iv. 580.

<sup>i</sup> In Numidia the primacy was not permanently attached to one see, but belonged to the senior bishop. Bingham, II. xvi. 6; Münter, 'Primordia,' 49.

<sup>k</sup> "The language of Purpurius is that of a furious madman." Gibbon, ii. 186.

<sup>l</sup> Acta Conc. Cirt. ap. Aug. c. Crescon. iii. 30, seqq.; iv. 36; Brevic. Coll. iii. 17; Optatus, i. 15; Aug. Ep. 43.

provoked did not break out into any considerable manifestation during his lifetime.<sup>m</sup> On his death, which took place in 311, as he was returning from Rome, where he had been summoned to appear before Maxentius, two presbyters, named Botrus and Celesius, aspired to the vacant see, and, for their own purposes, contrived that the election should take place without summoning the Numidian bishops.<sup>n</sup> The choice, however, fell on the archdeacon Cæcilian, who was consecrated by Felix, bishop of Aptunga. Before leaving Carthage, Mensurius had intrusted some plate and other property of the church to certain elders of the congregation,<sup>o</sup> and had left an inventory in the hands of a female member of his flock. This document was now delivered to Cæcilian, who asked the elders to produce the articles enumerated in it; and these persons, who had supposed themselves secure against inquiry, and had intended to appropriate the deposit, endeavoured to avenge themselves by forming a party in opposition to the new bishop.<sup>p</sup> The faction was joined by the disappointed presbyters, and was supported by the influence and wealth of Lucilla, a lady whom Cæcilian had formerly offended by reproving her for a practice of kissing the bone of a supposed martyr before partaking of the eucharist.<sup>q</sup> In consequence of an invitation from the malcontents, a body of Numidian bishops, seventy in number, and headed by their primate, Secundus, appeared at Carthage. They

<sup>m</sup> Tillemont (vi. 4-5, 697-8) supposes that a schism was formed against him, but that it was soon suppressed. See Walch, iv. 77-85.

<sup>n</sup> Optat. i. 17-18.

<sup>o</sup> "Seniores plebis," in whom some presbyterian writers wish us to recognize the "lay elders" of Calvin's discipline. But, as Bingham (II. xix. 19) observes, they seem to have been officers answering to our church-

wardens. See Thorndike, i. 164-6, ed. Ang. Cath. Lib. Walch, however, (iv. 72) supposes them to have been clergy.

<sup>p</sup> Optat. i. 17-18. Neander (iii. 266) questions the story as to their motives for joining the Numidians.

<sup>q</sup> Optat. i. 16. Cardinal Wiseman, in his ingenious *jeu d'esprit* on Donatism and Anglicanism, finds a parallel for Lucilla in Anne Boleyn! 'Essays,' v.

cited Cæcilian before them, alleging that he ought not to have been consecrated except in their presence, and by the primate of Numidia; and, moreover, that his consecration was void, inasmuch as Felix of Aptunga was a traditor.<sup>r</sup> Personal charges were also brought against Cæcilian. His exertions to check the fanatical spirit during the persecution were exaggerated into monstrous inhumanity; it was said that he had stationed men at the prison-doors, with whips in their hands, to drive away such of the faithful as should carry provisions for the relief of the martyrs; that he himself had beaten some persons who went to the prison on this errand of charity; that he had broken the vessels which they carried, and had scattered the food, so that some of the prisoners had in consequence been starved to death.<sup>s</sup> In answer to the summons of the Numidians, Cæcilian refused to appear before them, but professed himself willing to satisfy them if they would go to him; he maintained that his consecration was regular and valid, and offered, if they could prove it otherwise, to submit to a fresh consecration at their hands.<sup>t</sup> On this Purpurius broke out with his usual violence: "Let him come," he said, "to receive our imposition of hands, and we will break his head by way of penance."<sup>u</sup> The Numidians excommunicated Cæcilian with his adherents, and ordained a rival bishop, Majorinus, who had formerly been a reader under him, but was now a member of

<sup>r</sup> Optat. i. 19. The charges against Felix were afterwards fully disproved. 'Gesta Purgationis Felicis,' in Dupin, 254, seqq., or Routh, Reliq. iv.; Optat. i. 27; Walch, iv. 41-52.

<sup>s</sup> Acta Saturnini, 17, in Dupin, 242, or Patol. viii. 700-1.

<sup>t</sup> Optat. i. 19. From the number of arguments brought in support of the consecration, Neander (iii. 265) suspects that the Numidians had prece-

dent on their side in insisting that they ought to have been consulted: but that the matter had not been absolutely settled (cf. Bindemann, 'Augustinus,' ii. 380; Hefele, i. 163). Cæcilian's offer was probably ironical, as St. Augustine suggests. Brevic. Collat. iii. 16. See Walch, iv. 91; Broglie, i. 259.

<sup>u</sup> Optatus, i. 19, translated by Gibbon, ii. 186.

Lucilla's household. By this formation of a decided schism, many persons, who had before stood aloof from Cæcilian, were induced to return to his communion.\*

Constantine, soon after becoming master of the west by his victory over Maxentius, sent a large sum of money for the relief of the African Christians; and as reports

which reached him had produced impressions unfavourable to the malcontent party, he ordered that his gifts, with the privileges conferred on Christians by his late edicts,<sup>y</sup> should be limited to those who were in communion with Cæcilian, while he used some harsh language as to the "madness" of their opponents.<sup>z</sup> On this the discontented party, through the proconsul Anulinus, presented to the emperor a petition, desiring that their cause might be examined by the bishops of Gaul, from whom it was supposed that impartiality might be expected, as their country had been exempt from the late persecution, so that they had escaped the difficulties and dissensions connected with the question of giving up the Scriptures.<sup>a</sup> Even such an application to the civil power—a request that it would appoint a commission of ecclesiastical judges—was altogether inconsistent with the attitude which the Donatists afterwards assumed towards the state; and their adversaries did not fail in later times to remind them from which party the original appeal to the emperor had proceeded.<sup>b</sup>

Constantine complied with their request by issuing a commission to the bishops of Cologne, Autun, and Arles, with whom he joined Melchiades (or Miltiades) of Rome, and another;<sup>c</sup> but this commis-

\* Optat. lib.; Aug. de Unit. Eccl. 73.

<sup>y</sup> See above, p. 213.

<sup>z</sup> Euseb. Hist. Eccl. x. 5-6.

<sup>a</sup> Anulin. ap. Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 2; Optat. i. 22.

<sup>b</sup> Optat. i. 22; Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 5;

c. Crescon. iii. 67, and elsewhere.

<sup>c</sup> Euseb. H. E. x. 5. Μιλτιάδης ἐπ.

Ῥώμ. καὶ Μάρκω. Some (as Tillemont, vi. 30) suppose the second name

sion was afterwards extended, so that the assembly before which the cause was tried consisted of about twenty bishops, who in October 313<sup>d</sup> met in the Lateran, then the palace of the empress Fausta. Cæcilian attended, with ten bishops of his party; and a like number of accusers appeared, headed by Donatus, bishop of Casæ Nigræ, in Numidia. The decision was in favour of Cæcilian, and Melchiades proposed a conciliatory expedient—that both parties should reunite in communion, and that, where rival bishops laid claim to a see, the bishop who had the earlier consecration should keep possession.<sup>e</sup> Donatus and his brethren, however, disdained all compromise. They complained that their cause had not been sufficiently examined; they renewed their charges; they accused the judges of corruption; they declared that a synod of only twenty bishops was insufficient to overrule the sentence of the seventy who had condemned Cæcilian; and they prayed the emperor to grant them a further hearing.<sup>f</sup>

On this Constantine summoned a council from all parts of the western empire to Arles, whither the judges, the accusers, and the accused were conveyed at the public expense.<sup>g</sup> About two hundred bishops—by far the greatest ecclesiastical assembly that had yet been known (if the number be rightly given),—met on the 1st of August 314, under the presidency of Marinus, bishop of Arles.<sup>h</sup> The bishops of Rome and of Ostia were represented by deputies. The deliberations of the council resulted in a fresh acquittal of Cæcilian, and

to mean Mirocles, bishop of Milan; others a Roman presbyter or deacon, Mark, who became bishop of Rome in 336. See Patrol. vi. 32; xi. 930; Broigne, i. 263.

<sup>d</sup> Tillem. vi. 31-3.

<sup>e</sup> Aug. Ep. xliii. 16.

<sup>f</sup> Optat. i. 23-4; Aug. Ep. 43.

<sup>g</sup> Dupin, Monum. 283; Patrol. viii. 483-6.

<sup>h</sup> See Nat. Alex. vii. 370. Dupin, however, makes the number of bishops only 33, being the number of names in the heading of the council's epistle to Sylvester, bishop of Rome (Patrol. viii. 819). See Hefele, i. 170.

some canons were passed with a view to the African dissensions.<sup>1</sup> It was enacted that clergymen who had given up the Scriptures, the sacred vessels, or the lists of the faithful, should be deposed, if convicted by the evidence of public records, but that mere hearsay testimony was not to be admitted in such cases; that false accusers should be excluded from communion, and should not be readmitted until in prospect of death; that if a person in himself unexceptionable had been ordained by a traditor, his ordination should stand valid.<sup>k</sup> And, for the settlement of the old question as to baptism, it was decided that, where a person had received baptism from heretics in the name of the Trinity, he should be admitted into the church by imposition of hands for the conveying of the Holy Spirit; but that, if the proper form of words had not been used, he should be re-baptized.<sup>l</sup>

The defeated party entreated the emperor to take the matter into his own hands—a request which contrasts strangely with the principles which they afterwards maintained as to the independence of the ecclesiastical power. Although offended by their obstinacy, Constantine agreed,<sup>m</sup> and, after some delays, the question was

heard before him at Milan, where he gave a sentence to the same effect with those already pronounced by the synods of Rome and Arles.<sup>n</sup> This judgment was followed up by severe edicts against the sectaries. They were deprived of their churches; many of them suffered banishment and confiscation; even the punishment of death was enacted against them, although

<sup>1</sup> Hardouin, i. 263-6; Patrol. viii. 815.

<sup>k</sup> Cc. 13-14. Baronius (314. 63), as Tillemont (vi. 49) points out, gives a reading of the 13th canon which entirely inverts its meaning.

<sup>l</sup> C. 8. See Greg. Magn. Ep. xi. 67.

<sup>m</sup> Patrol. viii. 487-92. St. Augustine seems to say that he afterwards begged the bishops to pardon this interference. Ep. lxiii. 20.

<sup>n</sup> Aug. c. Crescon. iii. 82. For the order of events, see Walch, iv. 136-9.



it does not appear that this law was enforced in any case during the reign of Constantine.<sup>o</sup>

Majorinus is supposed to have died in 315, or earlier,<sup>p</sup> and was succeeded in the schismatical episcopate by Donatus "the Great"—so styled by his followers for the sake of distinction from the bishop of Casæ Nigræ. It was from this second Donatus that the sect, which had before been known as "the party of Majorinus,"<sup>q</sup> took the name which it bears in history. He is described as learned, eloquent, a voluminous writer, a man of rigid life, but of excessive pride. He is said to have been desirous that his followers, instead of being styled Christians in common with their opponents, should be called after himself (although at a later time they resented the appellation); to have carried himself loftily towards the other bishops of his communion; to have scorned to receive the eucharist in public; to have been very intemperate in his language towards all who differed from him. His partisans boasted of his miracles, and of the answers which he had received to prayer,<sup>r</sup> and are charged with paying him honours which trenched on those due to the Deity—with singing hymns to him, and swearing by his grey hairs.<sup>s</sup> The character of the sectaries answered to that of their chief. They displayed an extreme austerity, which was too often a pretext for the neglect of the more unpretending duties of morality and religion.<sup>t</sup> They professed to embody in each individual that holiness which Scripture ascribes to the ideal church of Christ as

<sup>o</sup> Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 3; cv. 9; c. Litt. Petil. ii. 205; Tillem. vi. 62-3; Schröckh, v. 288.

<sup>p</sup> Tillem. vi. 64; Neand. iii. 270.

<sup>q</sup> "Pars Majorini."

<sup>r</sup> Aug. de Unit. Eccl. 49; in Joann. Tract. xiii. 17.

<sup>s</sup> Optat. iii. 3. St. Augustine says that Donatus left writings which were

heretical as to the doctrines relating to the Godhead; but that the sect neither adopted his heterodoxy nor, apparently, knew of it (De Hæres. 69). The Arians vainly attempted to establish a correspondence with the Donatists. Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 12; Baron. 321. 19; Walch, iv. 324-9.

<sup>t</sup> Tillem. vi. 74-5.

a whole.<sup>u</sup> They held that the true church existed only in their own communion, which, with the exception of one scanty congregation at Rome and the private chapel of a wealthy female Donatist in Spain, was limited to a corner of Africa.<sup>x</sup> They boasted of miracles and revelations.<sup>y</sup> They rebaptized proselytes, and compelled such professed virgins as joined the party to submit to penance, and to renew their vows.<sup>z</sup>

Constantine soon began to perceive that against such fanaticism force would be as unavailing as reason. In 317 he wrote to the catholic bishops of Africa, exhorting them to treat the schismatics with gentleness;<sup>a</sup> and when, in 321, the Donatists presented to him a memorial, in which they declared that they would have nothing to do with his "scoundrel of a bishop,"<sup>b</sup> he repealed the laws against them, and allowed their exiles to return—expressing a horror of their frenzy and turbulence, but declaring that he left them to the judgment of God.<sup>c</sup> This policy of indulgence was continued throughout the remaining years of the reign, during which the emperor's attention was drawn away from the African schism by the nearer and more widely-spread Arian controversy.<sup>d</sup> In the meanwhile the Donatists became the stronger party in Africa. A synod of the sect in 330 was attended by two hundred and seventy bishops, and the whole number of their bishops is said to have at one time amounted to four hundred.<sup>e</sup>

The appearance of the circumcellions among the Do-

<sup>u</sup> Guericke, i. 376-7.

<sup>x</sup> Optat. ii. 4; Aug. c. Litt. Petil. ii. 247; de Unit. Eccl. 6. The editors of Augustine suppose Lucilla to have been the Spanish patroness.

<sup>y</sup> Aug. de Unit. Eccl. 49; in Joann Tr. xiii. 17; Ep. 53.

<sup>z</sup> Optat. v.; Aug. de Hæres. 69. The rebaptism of converts was not instituted by Donatus himself (Aug.

Retract. i. 21), and was declared to be needless by a Donatistic council in 330; but the practice was afterwards resumed. Tillem. vi. 81. <sup>a</sup> Dupin, Monum. 294.

<sup>b</sup> "Antistiti ipsius nebuloni."—Aug. Brev. Collat. iii. 39.

<sup>c</sup> Aug. ad Donatist. post Collat. 56 Euseb. V. C. i. 45.

<sup>d</sup> Tillem. vi. 105-7.

<sup>e</sup> Ib 82-6; Gibbon, ii. 18<sup>a</sup>

natists is placed by some writers as early as 317, while others date it a quarter of a century later.<sup>f</sup> These were persons of the poorest class, ignorant of any language but the Punic; their name was derived from the practice of begging *around* the *cells* or cottages of the country people, instead of earning a livelihood by regular industry.<sup>g</sup> The accounts of them might be disbelieved, as fictions of their enemies, were it not that later experience forbids us to be hasty in rejecting statements of extravagances and crimes committed under the name of religion.<sup>h</sup> Their zeal was often combined with excesses of drunkenness and lust; and in these the "sacred virgins" of the party shared.<sup>i</sup> Bands of both sexes roamed about the country, keeping the peaceable inhabitants in constant terror. They styled themselves the Lord's champions;<sup>k</sup> their shout of "Praises to God!" was heard, according to St. Augustine, with greater dread than the roaring of a lion.<sup>l</sup> Supposing that our Lord's words to St. Peter (Matt. xxvi. 52) forbade them the use of swords, they at first carried no other weapon than heavy clubs, called *Israels*, with which they beat their victims—often to death; but the scriptural scruple was afterwards overcome, and they added to their "*Israels*" not only slings, but swords, lances, and hatchets.<sup>m</sup> They attacked and plundered the churches and houses of the catholic clergy; they committed violent outrages on their persons; in later days they used to put out their eyes with a mixture of lime and vinegar.<sup>n</sup> Professing to

<sup>f</sup> Tillem. vi. 96, 828; Walch, iv. 157; Neander, iii. 272-3.

<sup>g</sup> Aug. c. Gaudent. i. 32; Milman, ii. 376.

<sup>h</sup> Gibbon (ii. 243) mentions the French *camisards* as a parallel, and even in our own age and country something of the kind may be found. See the *Quart. Rev.* No. 178, Art. 'Puritanism in the Highlands.'

<sup>i</sup> Aug. c. Litt. Petil. i. 26; ii. 195; De Unit. Eccl. 50; Tillem. vi. 88-9, 94.

<sup>k</sup> "Agonistici." Optat. iii. 4.

<sup>l</sup> Ib.; Aug. c. Crescon. iii. 46; Enarr. in Psalm cxxii. 3, 6.

<sup>m</sup> Ib. x. 5; c. Cresc. iii. 46; c. Litt. Petil. ii. 195.

<sup>n</sup> Aug. Ep. lxxxviii. 8; c. Cresc. ii. 46. This was not until A.D. 405.

redress the wrongs of society, they interfered between creditors and their debtors, between masters and their slaves; offences which deserved punishment were allowed to pass unnoticed, lest the circumcellions should be called in by the culprits; all property was unsafe in the region infested by these furious fanatics; and the officers of justice were afraid to perform their functions.<sup>o</sup>

The frenzy of the circumcellions was directed against themselves as well as others. Sometimes they courted death by violently disturbing the pagan worship.<sup>p</sup> They stopped travellers on the roads, and, with threats of killing them, demanded death at their hands.<sup>q</sup> In the same way, they compelled judges who were travelling on their circuits to hand them over to the executioners.<sup>r</sup> Many drowned themselves, rushed into fire, or threw themselves from precipices; but hanging was a death which they eschewed, because they would have nothing in common with the *traditor* Judas.<sup>s</sup> The more moderate Donatists disapproved and dreaded the excesses of the circumcellions. Councils of the sect condemned suicide; but the practice continued, and those who perpetrated or procured their own death were popularly honoured as martyrs.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Optat. iii. 4; Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 12, 15.

<sup>p</sup> Aug. ib. 12; c. Gaudent. i. 32. Gieseler supposes that this must have been between the revival of paganism under Julian and Gratian's measures for its suppression. I. ii. 105.

<sup>q</sup> Aug. de Unit. Eccl. 50.

<sup>r</sup> One judge who was thus assaulted ingeniously disappointed the applicants. He ordered the executioners to bind them, as if for death; and when they were thus rendered harmless, he left them. (Aug. Ep. clxxxv. 12.) Another version of the story is given by Theodoret, Hæres. iv. 6.

<sup>s</sup> Optat. iii. 4-5. Augustine will not let them escape by this way. "Frustra omnino; nam ille Judam traditorem id facere compulit, qui et illum puerum quem Dominus sanavit in aquam et ignem sæpe dejecit, et gregem porcorum in mare præcipitavit, et ipsi Domino præcipitium de pinna Templi audaci præsumptione suggessit. Quamvis itaque diversis modis voluntariam vos præcipitetis in mortem, tamen ejusdem diaboli instinctu vos ipsos necando imitamini traditorem." C. Gaudent i. 49.

<sup>t</sup> Aug. c. Litt. Petil. ii. 114; Ep. clxxxv. 16; Walch, iv. 162-6.

Constans, who in 337 succeeded to the western part of his father's empire, endeavoured to conciliate the Donatists by the same system of presents which had been found effectual in winning proselytes from heathenism to the church. It would seem that three such attempts were made;<sup>u</sup> the agents in the last of them were Paul and Macarius, who were sent into Africa in 347. When these commissioners invited all Christians to share in the emperor's gifts, Donatus repelled the offer with a great show of indignation: "What," he asked, "has the emperor to do with the church?"—and he forbade the members of his communion to accept anything from traditors.<sup>x</sup> It was reported that the commissioners were charged to set up the emperor's image in churches for the purpose of adoration.<sup>y</sup> The circumcellions rose in revolt, and a battle was fought, in which the imperial troops were victorious—two Donatist bishops, the chief instigators of the insurrection, being among the slain.<sup>z</sup> Macarius then required the sectaries to return to the church, and sentenced those who refused to banishment.

Optatus, the chief controversial opponent of Donatism until the time of Augustine, acknowledges that they were treated with harshness, but assures us that this was against the wishes of the catholic bishops.<sup>a</sup> The Donatists in Augustine's day used to speak of the "times of Macarius"<sup>b</sup> as those in which their forefathers had been most severely tried; and they affected to call the catholics *Macarians*, in memory of the persecutor.<sup>c</sup> By the vigorous measures employed against them, the schism appeared to be suppressed for a time, and Donatus died in exile.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>u</sup> Neand. iii. 274-6.

<sup>x</sup> Optat. iii. 3.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 12.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. 6-8. See the 'Passions' of these "martyrs" in Dupin, 303, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> iii. 2.

<sup>b</sup> "Tempora Macariana." Aug. Enarr. in Psalm x. 5.

<sup>c</sup> Aug. Ep. xxiii. 6; xlv. 45; c. Litt. Petil. ii. 94.

<sup>d</sup> Baron. 348. 27.

III. The distinctive tenet of Arianism—the denial of the Saviour's Godhead—had already appeared in the heresies of the Ebionites, of Artemon, and of Theodotus. But now that Christianity had assumed a new position, questions of doctrine produced an amount of agitation before unknown; the Arian controversy, and some which followed it, were not only felt throughout the whole church, but had an important effect on political affairs. And, sad as it undoubtedly is to contemplate the distractions thus occasioned, we must yet remember that by fighting out these differences, instead of attempting to stifle them by compromise, the church gained a fixed and definite form of sound words, which was of the greatest value, and even necessity, for the preservation of her faith through the ages of ignorance which followed.<sup>e</sup>

Although Alexandria was the birthplace of Arianism, the origin of the heresy is rather to be traced to the other great church of the east, over which Paul of Samosata had exerted a powerful and lasting influence. While the Alexandrian tendency was spiritual and mystical, the theologians of Antioch were given to dialectic subtleties, and were more distinguished for acuteness than for largeness or depth of mind;<sup>f</sup> and such was the tone which prevailed in the school of Lucian, an eminent teacher of Antioch, whose history has already been noticed.<sup>g</sup> Lucian, induced rather by a sympathy with Paul's spirit than by any near agreement in his opinions,<sup>h</sup> left the church together with the bishop, or in consequence of his condemnation: and although he afterwards returned, and was honoured in the church as a martyr, the effects of his teaching remained for evil. The Arians claimed

<sup>e</sup> Guericke, i. 413-14; Dörner, i. 806.

<sup>f</sup> Neand. iii. 500; iv. 3; Giesel. I. ii. 45; Newman on Arianism, 10-26, 33, 122; Dörner, ii. 28-9.

<sup>g</sup> Sup. p. 212.

<sup>h</sup> It may have been, that at the time when he forsook the church he agreed with Paul, and that after his return he fell into errors of a different kind. See Hefele, i. 225.



him as their founder. Among his pupils were Eusebius of Nicomedia, Leontius, and other persons who became prominent as leaders of the party; even Arius himself has been reckoned as one of them, although the connexion appears very doubtful.<sup>i</sup>

Arius is supposed to have been, like Sabellius, a native of Libya or Cyrenaica.<sup>k</sup> He is described as a man of strict life, of grave appearance and agreeable manners—with an air of modesty, under which, according to his enemies, he concealed strong feelings of vanity and ambition.<sup>l</sup> After having been ordained deacon by Peter, bishop of Alexandria, about the beginning of the century, he became connected with a party which Meletius, bishop of Lycopolis, the second in rank of the Egyptian sees, had formed on grounds which appear to have resembled those of the Donatistic schism.<sup>m</sup> For this,

<sup>i</sup> Philostorg. ii. 14; Kaye, 9, 88. There is a doubt as to Arius, who is not here mentioned by Philostorgius, and, in addressing Eusebius as his “fellow-Lucianist,” (Theodoret, i. 5), he may possibly have meant only that they agreed in the opinions of Lucian. See Walch, ii. 391-2; Hefele, i. 226.

<sup>k</sup> Epiph. lxix. 1. See Walch, ii. 389-90.

<sup>l</sup> Epiph. lxix. 3; Newman, n. on St. Athan. Orations, 183.

<sup>m</sup> The Meletian schism took its rise from a persecution which some writers (as Pagi, iv. 129-131, 308, 429; Clinton, A.D. 302) suppose to have been local, and date about 301, while others identify it with the great persecution of Diocletian, about 306. (Baron. 306; Tillem. v. 434; Mosh. i. 359; Walch, iv. 383; Schröckh, v. 269.) That Peter took a moderate course towards those who had lapsed is certain; but, while Epiphanius (lxviii. 3) represents Meletius as having separated from the church on account of the Alexandrian bishop's lenity, others state that he

himself was deposed for having sacrificed. (Athan. Apol. adv. Arianos, 59; Soc. i. 6.) The former opinion (although with some modifications from the account of Epiphanius, who is supposed to have been influenced by Meletian authorities) has been more generally received since the publication of some important documents by Maffei, in 1738. (See these reprinted in the ‘Reliquiæ Sacræ,’ iv. 91-4, with Dr. Routh's notes; also note in Mosh. i. 360; Walch, iv. 358-9, 366-9, 373-9; Schröckh, v. 266-9; Neand. iii. 308, seqq.; Kaye, 19-22; Hefele, i. 327-336; Herzog, art. *Melet. v. Lycopolis.*) Peter is said to have declared the baptism of the sect invalid. (Walch, iv. 334.) Meletius had at one time twenty-eight bishops in connexion with him. (Ib. 389.) The council of Nicæa endeavoured to heal the breach; its 6th canon, which settled the jurisdiction of the Alexandrian primate (see below, c. VI. iii. 6), is supposed to have been framed with special reference to the pretensions of Lycopolis. (Neand.

Arius was excommunicated by Peter ; but the next bishop, Achillas, readmitted him to the church, ordained him presbyter, and intrusted him with a parochial cure in the city.<sup>n</sup> On the death of Achillas, after

A.D. 311. an episcopate of a few months, Arius is said by some writers to have aspired to the bishoprick ; Philostorgius, a member of his party, even states

A.D. 312. that he had a majority of votes, and that he voluntarily gave way to Alexander, who was elected.<sup>o</sup> But there is no good evidence for the story of his having been a candidate at all.<sup>p</sup>

Amidst contradictory reports as to the beginning of the controversy, it seems to be certain that

A.D. 319. on some public occasion, when Alexander was discoursing on the unity of the Divine Trinity, Arius charged his doctrine with Sabellianism.<sup>q</sup> Alexander at first endeavoured to convince him of his error by friendly expostulations ; but, finding that they were ineffectual, that he himself was blamed for tolerating Arius, and that a presbyter named Colluthus even made this the pretext for a schism,<sup>r</sup> the bishop appointed a conference, at which, after having heard the arguments on both sides with judicial impartiality, he decided against Arius. The condemnation was ratified by a synod of Egyptian and Libyan bishops ; and the heresiarch with his adherents was excommunicated.<sup>s</sup>

iii. 308.) But the schism continued into the following century. Soc. i. 9  
Soz. ii. 21 ; Tillem. vi. 662-4 ; viii. 14  
Schröckh, v. 271.

<sup>n</sup> Epiph. lxix. 1-2. The parochia system was introduced at Alexandria earlier than in other cities, where all the clergy were usually attached to the mother church, and thence served the district churches. (Thomassin. II. i. 72 ; Bingham. IX. viii. 5.) It has been said, but improbably, that Arius was even master of the catechetical school See Walch, ii. 395 ; Dörner, i. 811.

<sup>o</sup> Philostr. i. 3.

<sup>p</sup> Tillem. vi. 242 ; Walch, ii. 393-5.

<sup>q</sup> Soc. i. 5 ; Theodoret, i. 2 ; Tillem. vi. 245 ; Gibbon, ii. 201 ; Newman on Arianism, 255 ; Dörner, i. 812 ; Kaye, 3-4. Möhler attempts to reconcile the accounts by supposing that Arius for some time spread his doctrines privately ; that Alexander, having heard of them, spoke in refutation of them, and that then Arius publicly contradicted him. i. 191-2. <sup>r</sup> Walch, iv. 509.

<sup>s</sup> Soz. i. 15 ; Papez, iii. 396-7 ; Tillem. vi. 219-21.

Arius found many to sympathize with him—partly from the attractiveness of a doctrine which brought down the mysteries of the Godhead to the sphere of human analogies and conceptions; partly because the multitude is usually ready to take part with any one who may suffer from the exercise of lawful authority.<sup>†</sup> Among his followers were two bishops, about twelve presbyters and as many deacons, and a great number of virgins.<sup>‡</sup> Being unable to remain at Alexandria, he took refuge in Palestine, and a lively correspondence followed—Arius endeavouring to gain friends by veiling his more offensive opinions, while Alexander dispersed warnings against him, and withstood all the intercessions of the historian Eusebius, bishop of Cæsarea, and of others who attempted to mediate.<sup>§</sup>

Among these was another Eusebius, who had been associated with Arius as a disciple or admirer of Lucian,<sup>¶</sup> and was now bishop of Nicomedia. Eusebius procured from a Bithynian synod an acknowledgment of his friend as orthodox, and received him when he had been dislodged from Palestine through the influence of the Alexandrian bishop.<sup>‡</sup> At Nicomedia the heresiarch composed his 'Thalia'—a book chiefly consisting of verses, and described by his opponents as an imitation of a heathen versifier named Sotades,<sup>a</sup> whose writings are said to have been alike disgusting in subject and contemptible in execution.<sup>b</sup> The 'Thalia' was intended to

<sup>†</sup> Soc. i. 6; Soz. i. 15; Schröckh, *ii.* 87-8.

<sup>‡</sup> Epiphanius (*lxix.* 3) says 700—which is, of course, incredible. See Bp. Kaye, 16-17.

<sup>§</sup> Epiph. *lxix.* 4; Soc. i. 6; Soz. i. 15; Theod. i. 4-5.

<sup>¶</sup> See p. 281, note <sup>1</sup>.

<sup>a</sup> Tillem. vi. 223; Walch, ii. 446.

<sup>b</sup> Sotades lived about 280 B.C. Smith's

Dict. of Biography, art. *Sotades*.

<sup>b</sup> Athan. de Synodis, 15, p. 72<sup>2</sup> (where specimens of the 'Thalia' are given); de Sentent. Dionys. 6; Soc. i. 9; Soz. i. 21; Newman on Athan. Orat. 94-5. On the seeming inconsistency of such a book with the alleged severity of the author's character, see Möhler, i. 186; Newman on Athan. Orat. 186; Milman, ii. 435.

advance the Arian doctrine by introducing it into pieces which might be sung as an accompaniment of meals; and with a like view Arius wrote songs for millers, sailors, and travellers.<sup>c</sup> The character of his mind, as exhibited in his heresy and in the arguments for it, forbids us to suppose that these productions had anything of poetry except the form.<sup>d</sup>

Constantine, on becoming master of the east, found the church distracted by the newly-risen controversy. In

the hope of allaying this he wrote a letter to A.D. 324. Alexander and Arius jointly—telling them that belief in a Providence was the one essential doctrine of Christianity, while he reproved them for contending about idle questions and imaginary differences, and recommended peace and unity, which, he said, they might learn even from the manner in which the heathen philosophers conducted their disputes.<sup>e</sup> This document has been highly extolled as a model of wisdom and moderation, but would better deserve the praise if the Godhead of the Redeemer were, in a Christian view, that utterly trifling matter which the emperor then supposed it to be.<sup>f</sup> Armed with the imperial letter, Hosius, bishop of Cordova, to whom the settlement of the affair was committed,<sup>g</sup> proceeded to Alexandria, and held a synod; but, although he succeeded in healing the schism

<sup>c</sup> Philostorg. ii. 2.

<sup>d</sup> Neander, iv. 11.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. V. C. ii. 63-71. The letter was written from Nicomedia, and is generally supposed to have been prompted by the bishop of that city (Tillem. Emp. iv. 212; Mem. vi. 228; Newman on Arianism, 281). Schröckh (v. 324) and Dean Milman (ii. 437) think that Eusebius would have shown more interest in the Arian cause, and they ascribe the letter to the influence of Hosius. (Comp. Walch, ii. 459.) But this opinion seems questionable,

since, however strongly Eusebius may have felt, he could not perhaps at the time have served Arianism more effectually than by suggesting a policy of indifference.

<sup>f</sup> See Möhler, i. 224; Newman on Arianism, 268. Against some of Dr. Newman's remarks, see Bp. Kaye, 25-6.

<sup>g</sup> Soz. i. 16. Baronius (318. 59, 88-9) says that he was sent by the bishop of Rome—an assertion which is refuted by Pagi, iii. 652-5, and is not even noticed by Möhler, i. 223.

of Colluthus,<sup>h</sup> the only result as to the Arian question was to convince him that the Arians were impracticable. (The dissensions occasioned by the controversy had by this time become very serious ; the disputes of the Christians were ridiculed in the heathen theatres ; and in some places the emperor's statues were treated with indignity.<sup>i</sup>)

Constantine now took a new view of the affair. He began to understand that the doctrine at stake was of the highest and most essential importance ;<sup>k</sup> and, moreover, the Arians appeared to him as disturbers of the public peace. In order, therefore, to a settlement of the controversy, and of the disputes as to the time of Easter, which had been lately revived, he summoned a general council of the whole church, to be held at Nicæa, in Bithynia.<sup>l</sup> It was the first time that such an assemblage had been possible ; for never until now had the east and the west been united under a sovereign professing the Christian faith : and the summons necessarily proceeded from the imperial authority, as being the only authority which was acknowledged by all the Christians of the empire.<sup>m</sup>

Something has been said in a former chapter as to the manner in which the Christian doctrines on such subjects as that which was now in question had gradually been defined and exhibited.<sup>n</sup> In the earlier time, down to the age of Irenæus, the Godhead of Father, Son, and Holy

<sup>h</sup> Walch, iv. 510.

<sup>i</sup> Euseb. ii. 61 ; Soc. i. 6 ; Theod. i. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Newman on Arianism, 269.

<sup>l</sup> Euseb. V. C. iii. 6.

<sup>m</sup> Planck, i. 680-1 ; Newman, 259  
ἐκλήθησαν δε οἰκουμενικαὶ [σύν-  
δοι] διότι ἐκ κελεύσεων βασιλικῶν  
οἱ κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν Ῥωμαίων πολι-

τεῖαν ἀρχιερεῖς μετεκλήθησαν.  
(Cedrenus, p. 439, ed. Paris, 1647.)  
Mr. Harris Cowper gives a letter which  
professes to be Constantine's citation,  
from the Syriac version. 'Analecta  
Nicæna,' 21, 29 (Lond. 1857). See  
Hefele, i. 225.

<sup>n</sup> Sup. pp. 115-16.

Ghost had been strongly held ; so strongly, indeed, that the language of the fathers might have been misconstrued into something like Sabellianism. When heresies of that character had appeared, from the time of Praxeas downwards, they had been met by declarations which tended to establish the distinction of the Divine Persons, with a subordination of the Second and the Third as ministering to the First. The task appointed for the fourth century was to reconcile and to combine the truths which had thus been successively brought into prominence.<sup>o</sup>

(The terms by which the relations of the Divine Being had been expressed were intended to be regarded as complementary of each other in conveying such a shadow of the mystery as is within the compass of human thought and language ; and, if taken singly, they were liable to be misunderstood. Thus the term *Son*, while it expressed the sameness of nature and the derivation of "God from God," was defective, inasmuch as it suggested ideas of posteriority, inferiority, material generation, and too great personal distinctness. On the other hand, the term *Word* or *Reason*<sup>p</sup> conveyed the ideas of coëternity, essential indwelling, and mediation, but tended to obscure that of personality—rather suggesting that the Second was to the First as an attribute or a mode of operation.<sup>q</sup> On the incompleteness of such images Arius founded his heresy. His original objection against Alexander was, that, if the Son were begotten, the Father was anterior to him ; therefore the Son had a beginning ; "once he was not."<sup>r</sup> He could not (it was

<sup>o</sup> Neander, iv. 14 ; Newman, 104-7, 170 ; Dorner, i. 807-8.

<sup>p</sup> Λόγος, *Logos*.

<sup>q</sup> Athan. de Synod. 41-2 ; Orat. ii. 33 ; ad Serap. iv. 6 ; Hilar. de Trin. ii. 8, 15 ; vii. 11, 14, seqq. ; Newman on Arianism, 183-7, and notes on Athan. locc. cit. ; Kaye, 195.

<sup>r</sup> ἦν ὅτε οὐκ ἦν. Arius would not say that there was a *time* when he was not : he held that the Son was begotten before time was. Athanasius (Orat. i. 11-15) treats this as an evasion and an absurdity. See Neand. iv. 4 ; Newman, 222, 227 ; Dorner, i. 814.



argued) have been taken from the Father's substance; therefore he was made out of nothing.<sup>b</sup> And thus, by a sophism drawn from the title of *Son*, Arius concluded against the very doctrine which that term was expressly intended to convey—the identity of nature between the Second Person and the First.<sup>c</sup> The Word, he said, was created by the Father, at his own will, before the worlds—before all time. He was the highest of creatures—"a creature, yet not as one of the creatures"—and therefore styled *only-begotten*.<sup>d</sup> He was framed after the pattern of the indwelling Divine Logos or Wisdom, enlightened by it, and called by its name.<sup>e</sup> But although the Arians exhausted language in expressing the height of the Son's elevation, they yet, by representing him as a creature, removed him to an infinite distance from the supreme Source of being. They assigned him a part like that of the gnostic demiurge in the work of creation; God (they said) created by him, because the Divinity itself could not come into contact with the finite world. According to them, he was employed in creation as an instrument, whereas in catholic language the Father was said to have wrought by him as by a hand.<sup>f</sup> It was said that the Son was styled God in an inferior sense—as men also are occasionally so styled in Scripture. The texts in which he himself speaks of his unity with the Father were explained as signifying either a mere agreement of will, or an indwelling of God in him after the same manner as in men.<sup>g</sup>

(The peculiar weapon of Arius was logic) his mind was incapable of any speculation which rose into a higher

<sup>a</sup> Thalia, ap. Athan. Orat. i. 5, 9; Soc. i. 5; Kaye, 153-5.

<sup>b</sup> Newman, 223-4. See Athan. Orat. iii. 6; Petav. de Trin. V. iv. 6; vi. 6-8.

<sup>c</sup> Ar. ap. Athan. de Synodis, 16. See Petav. de Trin. vi. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Thalia, ap. Athan. Orat. i. 5;

Kaye, 153.

<sup>e</sup> Athan. de Decr. Nic. Syn. 7-8; Orat. ii. 24, p. 492; Newman, n. on Athan. Orat. 12; Kaye, 192-3.

<sup>f</sup> Athan. Orat. i. 5; iii. 10; Möhler, i. 195-7, 201; Neand. iv. 5-8; Dorner, i. 819.

region.<sup>a</sup> The details of his system are obscured, partly by the variations to which he resorted as the consequences of his principles were pressed on him; partly by his own recoil from results which he had not foreseen or understood; and partly from his wish to disguise his opinions in such terms as might seem most plausible to the orthodox, and might be most likely to win for him the sympathy of the undiscerning.<sup>b</sup> Among the doctrines which he once held and afterwards retracted was that of the mutability of the Son's will. He might, it was said, have fallen like Satan; the Father, foreseeing that he would not fall, anticipated the reward of his merits by bestowing on him the titles of Son and Logos, which he was afterwards to earn.<sup>c</sup>

The incarnation, according to Arius, was merely the assumption by the Son of a human body—his nature supplying the place of a soul. Hence scriptural expressions, which really relate to the Saviour's humanity, were applied to his pre-existent nature, and it was argued from them that that nature was inferior to the Divine.<sup>d</sup>

The first general council met at Nicæa in June 325.<sup>e</sup> The number of bishops present was about three hundred,<sup>f</sup> and with them were many of the lower clergy. (Even some heathen philosophers were attracted to the place of

<sup>a</sup> Dorner, i. 823.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 819, 823, 828; Newman, 245.

<sup>c</sup> Thalia, ap. Athan. Orat. i. 5; Soc. i. 9; Newman, 222. This idea of desert in a creature, as the Son was said to be, contains the germ of Pelagianism. Möhler, i. 199; Dorner, i. 824.

<sup>d</sup> Epiphani. lxi. 49; Petav. de Incarn. l. v. 4-8; Möhler, i. 198, 211-12; Neander, iv. 7.

<sup>e</sup> Pagi in Baron. iv. 86. See Hefele, . 261-2.

<sup>f</sup> Eusebius says 250 (V. C. iii. 8); Athanasius (De D. . c. Syn. 3) and

Socrates (i. 8) "more than 300"; Sozomen, "about 320" (i. 17). The Syriac list is followed by the remark that they "are in all 220, because the names of the western bishops were not written." (Cowper's 'Anal. Nicæna,' 27, 34.) The number 318, which is given by Athanasius (ad Afros, 2), Epiphanius (lxi. 11), and Theodoret (i. 7), has been traditionally accepted, with a mystical reference to the number of Abraham's servants (Gen. xiv. 14). See Ambros. de Fide, Prolog. (Patrol. xvii.); Tillem. vi. 805-6; Newman, n. on Ath. Hist. Tracts, 43; Giesel. l. . 40; Hefele, i.

assembly, and held conferences and disputes with the bishops.<sup>g</sup>

The controversy had not yet begun to agitate the west; and from that portion of the emperor's dominions there were only Hosius of Cordova, Cæcilian of Carthage, and two Roman presbyters, Vito and Vincent, sent as representatives of their bishop, Sylvester, whose age prevented his attendance. One bishop came from Scythia, and one from Persia, while the great body were from the eastern division of the empire.<sup>h</sup> Among those who were thus assembled there was, no doubt, much variety as to their amount of ability and knowledge;<sup>i</sup> but the object of their meeting was not one which required any high intellectual qualifications. For the more subtle arguments and definitions were not introduced into the controversy until a later time,<sup>k</sup> and the fathers who assembled at Nicæa were not called to reason on the grounds of their belief, but to witness to the faith which the church had held on the disputed subjects. It has been supposed by some writers that Eustathius of Antioch was president; by some, that the bishops of Alexandria and Antioch presided by turns; while others have assigned the chief place to Eusebius of Cæsarea. The most general opinion, however, is in favour of Hosius, whose name is first among the subscriptions; but there is no ground whatever for the idea that the office belonged to him in the character of a

258; Kaye, 28-9; Stanley, 'Eastern Church,' 108.

<sup>g</sup> A story is told of a simple bishop, who, by repeating his creed, converted a philosopher. (Rufinus, i. 3 [Patrol. xxi.]; Soz. i. 18.) Sozomen adds another story, which recalls to mind the feats of "electro-biology"—that Alexander, bishop of Byzantium, being challenged by a philosopher to dispute, and feeling himself stronger in faith

than in power of argument, said to his opponent—"In the name of Jesus Christ, I command thee not to speak!" and that thereupon the philosopher was unable to utter a word. For Constantine's conversation with Acesius, the Novatianist bishop, see above, p. 170.

<sup>h</sup> Euseb. iii. 7; Soz. i. 17.

<sup>i</sup> Kaye, 30.

<sup>k</sup> Möhler, i. 227; Dorner, i. 833;

Roman legate, or that he held that character in any way.<sup>1</sup> The number of bishops favourable to Arius is variously stated at thirteen, seventeen, and twenty-two;<sup>m</sup> the most eminent among them were the two Eusebiuses, —who, however, did not fully agree in doctrine, as the the bishop of Nicomedia carried his views to the whole length of the heresy, while the historian's opinions appear to have been of the class afterwards styled *semi-Arian*.<sup>n</sup> In the earlier sessions, which seem to have been held in a church,<sup>o</sup> Arius was repeatedly heard

Pusey on the Councils, 107-8. See Athan. de Synod. Arim. et Sel. 5.

<sup>1</sup> The first trace of such ideas is in Gelasius of Cyzicum, a writer of little authority, towards the end of the fifth century. (l. ii. c. 5, ap. Hard. i. 376.) The bolder Romanists, as Baronius, tell us that Sylvester summoned the council, and that Hosius presided as his legate. Their arguments are such as these:—that, as the council *was* summoned, it *must* have been summoned by the pope; that the pope *cannot but have* appointed a president; that whoever were present as his representatives *must* have presided, etc. Pagi states that Constantine convoked the council, “sed autoritate præsidii, non regiminis;” that the power belongs to popes, but was with their consent exercised by emperors. (See Baron. 325. 19; Pagi, iv. 90-103; Broglie, ii. 20, 44.) Bp. Hefele faintly maintains the Roman view both as to the authority by which the council was summoned, and as to the character in which Hosius presided (i. 32-8, 256). The Gallicans in general say that the summons proceeded from Constantine's sole authority, and that there is no ground for the Roman theory. (Tillem. vi. 635-7, 807-8; Dupin, ii. 318.) For the part of Roman legates in councils, see De Marca, l. vii.

<sup>m</sup> Newman, 270.

<sup>n</sup> On Eusebius of Cæsarea, see Dor-

ner, i. 792-805. He says that Romanists (as Petav. de Trin. I. xi.-xii.) generally make him a heretic—being interested in so doing, not only because his historical works expose the groundlessness of the papal claims, but on account of his opposition to images (see below, ch. vi. § v. 4); that Anglicans acquit him; while modern Germans take a mixed view of his character. Prof. Dörner considers that Eusebius varied in his opinions, and is “a mirror of the unsolved ecclesiastical problems of his age” (p. 793). Dr. Newman (281-2) thinks that his writings do not contain enough to convict him of heresy, but that “his acts are his confession.” “The opinions of Eusebius,” says Bishop Kaye, “may be collected from B. i. c. 2 of his ‘Ecclesiastical History;’ they appear to have been in accordance with those of the Ante-Nicene fathers, who held that the Word *existed* with the Father from eternity, being personally distinct, but that He was *begotten* in order to create the world.” (44-5.) See Semisch in Herzog, iv. 232-3.

<sup>o</sup> “It would seem that a secular building was fitted up as a temporary house of prayer. At least the traditional account of the place where their concluding prayers were held exactly agrees with Strabo's account of the ancient gymnasium of Nicæa.” Stanley, 112.

by the fathers in defence of his opinions. He avowed his heresy without disguise, and it is said that the avowal caused all who were present to stop their ears. His chief opponents in argument were Marcellus, bishop of Ancyra,<sup>p</sup> and Athanasius, archdeacon of Alexandria, who was in attendance on his bishop, Alexander.<sup>q</sup>

About a fortnight after the opening of the council, Constantine arrived at Nicæa, and the sittings were transferred to the palace,<sup>r</sup> where the emperor appeared at them, and acted as a moderator. Immediately on his arrival, he found himself beset by bishops who eagerly importuned him to listen to their grievances against each other; and as these quarrels were not only scandalous, but seemed likely to interfere with the proper business of the council, he resolved to put a summary end to them. Having appointed a day for the decision of such matters, he took his seat as judge, and received all the memorials which contained the mutual complaints and recriminations of the bishops. Then, after having shortly exhorted them to unity and concord, he burnt the documents without opening them, "lest the contentions of the priests should become known to any one." After this, the council proceeded to the discussion for which it had been assembled. The partisans of Arius, and especially that section of which Eusebius of Nicomedia was the leader, attempted to shelter themselves under ambiguous terms.<sup>t</sup> Eusebius of Cæsarea offered for acceptance a creed which he declared to be agreeable to the faith which he had received from his predecessors, which he had learnt as a catechumen, and had always held

<sup>p</sup> Julius ap. Athan. Apol. adv. Arianos, 23, 32.

<sup>q</sup> Rufin. i. 5, 14; Soc. i. 8; Soz. i. 17; Tillem. vi. 650, 653; viii. 6.

<sup>r</sup> See Euseb. iii. 10; Tillem. vi. 650;

Pagi, iv. 102-4; Milman, ii. 440; Broglie, ii. 27; Hefele, i. 267.

<sup>s</sup> Rufin. i. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Athan. ad Afros, 5; Theod. i. 8 Hefele, i. 273-4.

and taught ;<sup>u</sup> but this document, although of orthodox appearance, was so artfully framed as to evade the very questions which it was the business of the council to determine. He censured the terms proposed by the catholics, as not being scriptural ;—a futile objection, inasmuch as the matter in dispute was the sense of those Scriptures which all professed to accept ; and somewhat shameless, as coming from a party which had opened the controversy by the introduction of terms unknown to Scripture.<sup>x</sup> In order to meet the evasions of this creed, the word *homœousion* (i.e. of the same substance or essence) was proposed.<sup>y</sup> Objections were taken to it, as tending to suggest the notion of materiality, as obscuring the personal distinction, as having been connected with some heretical systems, and, in particular, as having been condemned (although in another sense) by the council which deposed Paul of Samosata.<sup>z</sup> Eusebius, however, acknowledged that it had been used by fathers of good repute, and at length he agreed to adopt it.<sup>a</sup> A creed was drawn up, resembling that of Eusebius, and, like it, mainly derived from the older forms of the eastern church, but differing from it by the addition of the necessary safeguards against the Arian errors ; and this creed, with a solemn condemnation of Arius, was generally signed by the bishops—among the rest by Eusebius

<sup>u</sup> Eus. ad Parochianos suos, 2, ap. Athan. ii. 238.

<sup>x</sup> Athan. de Decr. Nic. Syn. 18, 21, 32 ; Hampden, 'Bampt. Lectures,' ed. 2, Pref. 65 ; Neand. iv. 21 ; Newman, 157, 250.

<sup>y</sup> Athan. de Decr. Nic. Syn. 19, seqq. "The word essence," says Bishop Kaye, "appears to me better to express the meaning of the word οὐσία, than substance. By the *essence* of a thing, I understand that by which it is what it is."—42.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 186.

<sup>z</sup> Athan. ad Afros, 6, Soc. i. 8. Philostorgius is represented as saying, that the Arians deceived the council by substituting *homœousion* (of like substance) for *homœousion* ; and the story is generally rejected (Tillem. vi. 659-60 ; Newman, 275). But his words (τὸ ὁμοιούσιον ἐν τῇ τοῦ ὁμοουσίου φωνῇ ὑποκλέψαντες, i. i. c. 9) seem rather to mean that they *concealed* their heretical opinion under the orthodox term.



himself, whose adhesion, as explained in a letter to his flock, was more creditable to his ingenuity than to his candour. (The learned and courtly historian professed to have accepted the word *homoöusion* as meaning that the Son was like the Father, and unlike all the other creatures; and to have joined in the condemnation of Arius because the censured terms were novel and unscriptural, but without intending either to pronounce the opinions in question false, or to affirm that they were held by the accused.)

The paschal question was settled by a decision against the quartodeciman practice.<sup>c</sup> Twenty canons were passed on various subjects connected with the government and discipline of the church;<sup>d</sup> and the deliberations of the council were succeeded by the celebration of Constantine's Vicennalia, during which he entertained the bishops at a splendid banquet, and, after having exhorted them to cultivate peace among themselves, dismissed them with a request that they would pray for him.<sup>e</sup>

The emperor followed up the council's judgment by banishing Arius into Illyria, and including in the sentence two Egyptians, Secundus and Theonas, who were the only bishops that had throughout adhered to the heresarch.<sup>f</sup> Severe penalties were denounced against Arius and his followers, and it was even made a capital offence to possess his writings. Constantine ordered that the party should be styled *Porphyrians*,—a name derived from that of the latest noted controversialist who had appeared

<sup>b</sup> Euseb. ap. Athan. de Decr. Nic. pp. 238, seqq.; Rufin. i. 5; Soc. i. 8; Soz. i. 20-1; Theod. i. 12; Möhler, i. 235; Neand. iv. 25; Kaye, 39-41; Hefele, i. 279.

<sup>c</sup> Constant. ap. Euseb. iii. 11; Soc. i. 9; Theod. i. 10.

<sup>d</sup> Hefele, i. 351-9.

<sup>e</sup> Euseb. iii. 14-21.

<sup>f</sup> There is some difference of statement here. See Soz. i. 20; Soc. i. 8; Theod. i. 7; Nat. Alex. vii. Dissert. 16; Pagi, iv. 123; Möhler, i. 233; Kaye, 45-6; Broglie, ii. 44.

on the side of heathenism,<sup>g</sup> and intended to brand the Arians as enemies of the Christian faith ;<sup>h</sup> and in a letter addressed to the heresiarch, the emperor, not content with vehemently attacking his doctrine, even condescended to pun on his name and to ridicule his personal appearance.<sup>i</sup>

Three months after the council, Eusebius of Nicomedia and Theognis of Nicæa, who had subscribed the creed but not the anathema, were condemned by a local synod on some new charge ; and the emperor, who had given orders for their trial, sentenced them to banishment.<sup>k</sup>

Within a few months after his return from Nicæa, Alexander, bishop of Alexandria, died. Athanasius, whom he had recommended for his successor in the see, was then absent,—having, it would seem, intentionally prolonged his absence on a mission to the court from a wish to avoid the dangerous and laborious dignity.<sup>l</sup> He was, however, chosen by general acclamation ; and although some faint charges of irregularity were afterwards brought against the manner of his appointment, it would seem to have been really beyond exception.<sup>m</sup> From the

<sup>g</sup> Porphyry died in 305 or 306. Smith's Dict. of Biography.

<sup>h</sup> Soc. i. 8 ; Soc. i. 21-4 ; Tillem. vi. 661-2, 813. Bayle remarks on the inconsistency of putting people to death for having the books of a person whose own punishment was only exile. Art. *Arius*, n. A.

<sup>i</sup> The letter is mentioned by Socrates (i. 9, p. 37), and is preserved by Gelasius of Cyzicum (ap. Hard. i. 451). The Duke de Broglie thinks Gelasius wrong in placing it after the council (i. 388) ; but, as Dean Stanley has pointed out (172), the passage in Socrates seems to prove that this was the real date.

<sup>k</sup> Philost. i. 10 ; Soc. i. 9 ; Soz. i. 21 ; Kaye, 39. Their offence is supposed to have been that of communicating with Arius (Tillem. vi. 268, 743-4,

810-12 ; Vales. n. in Sozom. ; Walch, ii. 483). Constantine, in a letter written on the occasion, reflects severely on Eusebius for his former connexion with Licinius. Theodor. i. 20.

<sup>l</sup> Soc. i. 15 ; Pagi, iv. 164 ; Tillem. vi. 234-7, 736 ; viii. 7 ; Möhler, ii. 1-2 ; Broglie, ii. 287-9. Athanasius says that his predecessor died within five months after the council of Nicæa (Apol. c. Arianos, 59), and the date has usually been placed in 326. But the ancient Index to the 'Festal Letters of St. Athanasius,' lately recovered in a Syriac version, places it in April 328. See pp. x., xv.

<sup>m</sup> Athan. Apol. c. Arianos, 6 ; Newman, n. on Ath. Tracts, 22 ; Gibbon i. 218 ; Schröckh, xii. 109-10 ; Neand vi. 418 ; Kaye, 62-3

age of thirty to that of seventy-six Athanasius held the see, devoting himself with all his powers to the assertion of the orthodox doctrine, which for him was no speculative opinion, but was intimately connected with the whole Christian life.<sup>a</sup> To his abilities and constancy is due, under the Divine Providence, the preservation of the eastern church, and perhaps even of the whole church, from the adoption of the Arian heresy, or from a vague and creedless system, which would probably have issued in an utter abandonment of Christianity. He displays in his writings a manly and direct eloquence; a remarkable and unusual combination of subtlety with breadth of mind; extreme acuteness in argument, yet at the same time a superiority to mere contentiousness about words. His unbending steadiness of purpose was united with a rare skill in dealing with men; he knew when to give way, as well as when to make a show or resistance. His activity, his readiness, his foresight, his wonderful escapes and adventures, gave countenance to the stories of magical art which circulated among his enemies,<sup>o</sup> and to the belief of his admirers that he possessed the gifts of miracles and prophecy. Throughout all his troubles he was supported by the attachment of his people, and of the hundred bishops who owned allegiance to the see of Alexandria.<sup>p</sup>

The Arian party in no long time began to gain strength in the imperial court. Constantia, the widow of Licinius and sister of Constantine—a princess who had been under the influence of Eusebius of Nicomedia—was persuaded by a presbyter whose name is said by writers of later date to have been Eutocius,<sup>q</sup> that Arius had been

<sup>a</sup> Neand. iv. 30; Villemain, 'Éloquence Chrétienne,' 96.

<sup>o</sup> See Ammian. Marcell. xv. 7.

<sup>p</sup> Gibbon, ii. 217-18; Comp. Hooker,

V. xlii. 2-5.

<sup>q</sup> He is so called by Photius, in his account of a work by Gelasius of Cyzicum. Bibl. No. 88, p. 208.

misrepresented and unjustly condemned.<sup>r</sup> When on her death-bed, she endeavoured to impress A.D. 327-8. her brother with the same belief, and recommended the presbyter to him; and by this man the emperor, whose apprehension of the question had never been independent or discerning, was persuaded to invite Arius to his court. The heresiarch appeared, with Euzoius, a deacon of Alexandria, who had been included in the excommunication. They produced a creed, which although defective in the critical points, was expressed in inoffensive, and for the most part scriptural, terms; and Constantine was satisfied of their orthodoxy. Eusebius and Theognis also soon obtained a recall, protesting that they had no sympathy with the errors imputed to Arius; that their only offence had been that of doubting whether he held these errors—a doubt, they said, which the emperor himself had lately justified.<sup>s</sup>

The Arian or Eusebian party had now full possession of court influence, and they made an unscrupulous use of it to eject such catholic bishops as stood in the way.<sup>t</sup> Among these was Eustathius, bishop of Antioch, who had offended them by charging Eusebius of Cæsarea with unfaithfulness to the Nicene doctrine. Eusebius retorted by an accusation of Sabellianism—an error which the Arianizers habitually imputed to their orthodox opponents; and at a party synod, held in his own city, the bishop of Antioch was deposed on charges of heresy and adultery, which were alike unfounded.<sup>u</sup> As

<sup>r</sup> Rufin. i. 11. The Arians said that she was warned of this in a vision or dream. Soz. iii. 19.

<sup>s</sup> Rufin. i. 11; Soc. i. 14, 26; Soz. ii. 16, 27. Tillemont (vi. 269, 744) and Walch (ii. 487) question the genuineness of the letter, and suppose that the two bishops were recalled before Arius, whose recall they place in 330. But

later writers in general admit the letter. Schröckh, v. 372; Neand. iv. 28-9. Möhler, ii. 3-4; Kaye, 54-7.

<sup>t</sup> Tillem. vi. 274, 279-281; Möhler, ii. 6; Newman, 376-8.

<sup>u</sup> Philostorg. ii. 7; Soc. i. 23; Theod. i. 21. Pagi dates this in 327 (iv. 195); Clinton (ii. 549) in 328; Tillemont (v. 274) and Schröckh (v. 377) in 331.

the attachment of his people to Eustathius, and their indignation at this sentence, appeared to threaten a disturbance of the public peace, the emperor's jealousy was aroused, and the bishop was sent into exile.\* After two Arians in succession had held the see for a short time, Eusebius was solicited to accept it; he declined, however, and his refusal was approved by the emperor.†

The occupant of the other great eastern see was far more obnoxious, not only on account of his formidable character and talents, but as being the bishop of that church from which Arius had been expelled, and through which it was desired by his partisans that he should be formally readmitted to catholic communion. After Eusebius of Nicomedia had in vain attempted to mediate, the emperor himself was persuaded to write to Athanasius, requiring him to receive Arius with his followers, and threatening deposition and banishment in case of refusal. But the undaunted bishop replied that he could not acknowledge persons who had been condemned by a decree of the whole church; and Constantine desisted from urging the matter.‡

The Arians now made overtures to the Meletians. The council of Nicæa had endeavoured to provide for the healing of the Meletian schism by an arrangement as to the possession of sees which were claimed both by catholic and by Meletian bishops;§ but Meletius, although for a time he acquiesced in this measure, had afterwards been persuaded to continue the breach by

\* Some place his death soon after his banishment; others as late as 360 (Fabric. Bibl. Gr. ix. 132; Schröckh, v. 378). Socrates (iv. 14) and Sozomen (vi. 13) even say that he was recalled by Jovian (A.D. 363-4), and was living at Antioch in 370. But this is generally supposed to be a mistake. See Vales. a. in Socr. iv. 14; Acta SS., Jul. 16, pp. 137-8. The fragments of Eustathius

are in Fabricius, ix. 135, seqq.

† Euseb. iii. 59-62; Soc. i. 24; Soz. ii. 18-19; Tillem. vi. 276-8, 746; vii. 29; Kaye, 59-61.

‡ Athan. Apol. 59; Soc. i. 23, 27; Tillem. vi. 231; vii. 17; Kaye, 62.

§ See Can. viii. with the notes in Routh, Script. Eccl. Opuscula, i. 407 416; Soc. i. 9

ordaining one John to succeed him as the chief of his community. The Meletians, in their enmity against the Alexandrian primate, were easily induced to lend themselves as tools to his Arian opponents; and, although hitherto free from doctrinal error, they gradually became infected with the heresy of their new allies.<sup>b</sup> In the alleged grievances of the Meletians the Arians found means of besieging the emperor with a multitude of complaints against Athanasius; but the bishop exposed the futility of these complaints so successfully as even for a time to turn Constantine's indignation against the authors of them.<sup>c</sup>

In 334 Athanasius was summoned to appear before a council at Cæsarea, but disregarded the citation on the ground that he could not expect justice at the hands of such a tribunal.<sup>d</sup> In the following year

A.D. 335. he was cited before another council, to be held at Tyre; and as the order was then enforced by the imperial authority, with threats of personal violence, he thought it well to comply. At this assembly sixty bishops were present, and a lay commissioner of the emperor directed and overawed their proceedings.<sup>e</sup> Athanasius appeared at the head of fifty Egyptian bishops, and was about to take the place to which the dignity of his see entitled him, when he was ordered by the president, Eusebius of Cæsarea, to stand, as being a person under accusation. On this one of the Egyptian bishops, Potammon, a man of high repute for sanctity, is said to have addressed Eusebius: "Do you sit, while the innocent Athanasius is tried before you? Remember how you were my fellow-prisoner in the persecution. I lost an eye for the truth: by what com-

<sup>b</sup> Athan. Apol. 59; Soc. i. 27; Soz. ii. 18-19; Epiphani. lxvi. 5-6. Walch (iv. 395) makes as little as possible of their Arianizing.

<sup>c</sup> Athan. Apol. 60; Soz. ii. 22; Kaye, 63-4.

<sup>d</sup> Soz. ii. 25; Theod. i. 28.

<sup>e</sup> Planck, i. 685-6



pliances was it that you came off unhurt?" Eusebius found it expedient to evade the question. "Your behaviour," he answered, "gives countenance to the charges against your party; for if you try to play the tyrants here, no doubt you must do so much more at home." And he broke up the meeting for the day.<sup>†</sup>

Athanasius was arraigned on a variety of charges, some of them arising out of collisions with the remaining adherents of Meletius and Colluthus, in the course of the visitations which he indefatigably performed throughout his vast province. The most serious was, that he had killed a Meletian bishop named Arsenius, had cut off one of his hands, and had used it for magical purposes; and a human hand was exhibited in evidence of these crimes. In answer to all these charges, Athanasius defended himself boldly and triumphantly. The story as to Arsenius was refuted by producing the man himself, alive and unmutilated,—the friends of Athanasius having succeeded in discovering him, notwithstanding the endeavours of the opposite party to keep him concealed.<sup>§</sup>

As the case against Athanasius had thus broken down, a commission, chosen from among his bitterest enemies, was sent into the Mareotis to collect fresh evidence against him. He protested against the unfair composition of this body; and, without waiting for the result of its inquiries, he embarked for Constantinople, threw

<sup>†</sup> Epiph. lxxviii. 7; cf. Athan. Apol. 8. Schröckh (xii. 121), Valois, and Hefele (i. 446) question the truth of the imputation on Eusebius; and it has been suggested that the story may have been distorted from one somewhat similar,—that Paphnutius, a famous Egyptian confessor, by appealing to Maximus, bishop of Jerusalem, as his old companion in suffering, drew him over to the side of Athanasius (Rufin. i. 17).

<sup>§</sup> Athan. Apol. 8-12, 63, seqq.; Rufin. i. 17; Soc. i. 27; Soz. ii. 23-5. The affair of Arsenius had before been investigated by the emperor's brother Dalmatius; but, if so, it is hard to understand how the Arians could have ventured to revive it at Tyre. See, however, Tillem. viii. 24, 45, 658, 663; Dupin, ii. 36. Bp. Kaye says (66-7) that the emperor seems to have varied in his opinion on the matter. Comp Broglie, i. 331.

himself in the emperor's way as he was riding near the city, and, reminding him of the judgment at which they must both one day appear, extorted from him a promise of a new investigation in the imperial presence.<sup>h</sup> Constantine was so far moved by this appeal that he wrote in a tone of reproof to the council, which had already decreed the deposition and excommunication of Athanasius, and, having removed to Jerusalem for the purpose of dedicating the magnificent church which the emperor had lately erected over the holy sepulchre, had there admitted Arius and Euzoius to communion.<sup>i</sup>

The leaders of the Arian faction persuaded the other bishops to return to their homes, and themselves repaired to Constantinople. Dropping the charges on which they had condemned Athanasius in the council, they asserted that he had threatened to stop the sailing of the Egyptian fleet, on which the new capital depended for its supplies of corn. The accusation was well devised with a view to rouse Constantine's jealousy; for on a similar suspicion he had a few years before put to death a philosopher named Sopater, who had long enjoyed his intimacy; and the artifice of the Arians was successful.<sup>k</sup> Whether from belief of the charge, from a wish to remove so influential a man from a scene where he might be dangerous, or with a view of withdrawing him for a time from exposure to the malice of his enemies, the emperor banished Athanasius to Treves, where the champion of orthodoxy found an honourable reception at the court of the younger Constantine.<sup>l</sup>

But the spirit of its bishop continued to animate the

<sup>h</sup> Athan. Apol. 13, seqq.; 71-86; Soc. i. 31-4; Tillem. vi. 289; viii. 57-66; Kaye, 68-9.

<sup>i</sup> Athan. Apol. 86; Soc. i. 34; Soz. ii. 25, 29; Tillem. viii. 59.

<sup>k</sup> Eunapius, Vitæ Sophistarum, 463.

ed. Boissonade, Paris, 1849.

<sup>l</sup> Athan. Apol. 9, 97; Soc. i. 35; Tillem. vi. 290; viii. 62-5; Gibbon, ii. 223; Möhler, ii. 20; Rettberg, i. 186-7, Kaye, 74-6.

Alexandrian church. The attempts of Arius to obtain re-admission were steadily repelled; and at length reports of disturbances occasioned by his proceedings induced the emperor to summon him to Constantinople.<sup>m</sup> A council which was sitting there condemned Marcellus of Ancyra, one of Athanasius' most conspicuous partisans, on a charge of Sabelianism, to which he had at least given countenance by the use of incautious language;<sup>n</sup> and it is said that the same council ordered the admission of Arius to communion.<sup>o</sup> The heresiarch appeared before the emperor, and without hesitation subscribed a profession of orthodoxy,<sup>p</sup> declaring that he had never held any other doctrine. With this compliance Constantine was satisfied, and sending for the bishop, Alexander, he told him that Arius must be received into communion on the following day, which was Sunday. Alexander, who had occupied the see of Byzantium while it was as yet an undistinguished city,<sup>q</sup> and had now almost completed his hundredth year, had already been threatened by Eusebius of Nicomedia with deposition in case of a refusal, and

<sup>m</sup> Soc. i. 37.

<sup>n</sup> On Marcellus, see the two treatises of Eusebius against him, *Patrol. Gr.* xxiv.; *Soc.* i. 36; *Soz.* ii. 32; *Baron.* 336. 34; *Petav. de Trin.* i. 13; *Pagi,* iv. 431; *Montfaucon,* in *Patrol. Gr.* xviii. 1277, seqq.; *Tillem.* vii. 504-6; *Walch,* iii. 239-41, 260, 282-94; *Schröckh,* vi. 174, seqq.; *Neand.* iv. 51-2; vi. 418-19, 427-30; *Giesel.* I. ii. 55; *Hagenb.* i. 254; *Newman* on *Arianism*, 334; *n.* on *Athan. Tracts*, 52; *Kaye*, 80. *Möhler* (ii. 22-35) defends him against Eusebius. It seems most likely that at first he was guilty only of injudicious language, but that afterwards he ran into more serious error. The words declaring the eternity of Christ's kingdom are supposed by some writers to have been added to

the Nicene creed in opposition to one of his tenets. *Petav. de Inc.* XII. xviii. 5; *Neand.* vi. 429. See *Euseb. c. Marcell.* ii. 4; *de Ecclesiast. Theologia*, iii. 14-17 (*Patrol. Gr.* xxiv.); *Walch*, iii. 280.

<sup>o</sup> *Walch* (ii. 499) says that this cannot be proved.

<sup>p</sup> *Athan. de Morte Arian.* 9 (p. 341); *ad Episc. Æg. et Lib.* 18. *Walch* (ii. 499) says that it cannot be known what the form was. That it was the Nicene creed is denied by *Tillemont* (vi. 296), *Neander* (iv. 37), and *Newman* (288). The story told by *Socrates* (i. 38)—that Arius signed the Nicene creed, while he secretly meant another which he carried under his arm—may pretty safely be rejected.

<sup>q</sup> *Eroglie*, ii. 357.

had been for weeks engaged with his flock in solemn deprecation of the intended evil. On leaving the emperor's presence, he entered the church of Peace, prostrated himself under the holy table, and prayed that, rather than he should witness such a profanation, either he himself or the heresiarch might be taken from the world. On the evening of the same day, Arius was parading the streets of the city on horseback amidst a large party of his adherents, talking lightly and in a triumphant tone of the ceremonies appointed for the morrow, when the pressure of a natural necessity compelled him to dismount and withdraw.<sup>r</sup> He was soon after found dead, and his end is related with circumstances which are intended by the narrators to recall to mind that of the traitor Judas.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>r</sup> Athan. Tracts, 212; Soc. i. 37; Tillem. vi. 294-6; vii. 35.

<sup>s</sup> (Acts i. 18.) Athan. de Morte Arij, 3; Rufin. i. 12-13; Soc. i. 38; Epiphani. lxxviii. 5; lxxix. 10; Theodoret, Hæres. iv. 1. Alexander's prayer is reported by some writers with admiration; by others, with horror. Perhaps it might be less difficult to defend the charity of the petition as to Arius than the faith of that as to himself. Gibbon says that "those who press the literal narrative of the death of Arius must make their option between *poison* and *miracle*" (ii. 212). The Roman Catholic writers, with Joseph Milner (i. 535) and Dr. Newman—in his Anglican work on Arianism (289), as well as in his transitional Essay on Miracles (171-4)—take the latter alternative; Mosheim (i. 396) the former. It is, indeed, very probable, as Walch (ii. 506) suggests, that the narrative may have been embellished from the story of Judas; but, without going into that question, the necessity of the choice to which Gibbon would limit us is not apparent. The possibility of poison is, as Waldi (ii. 509) and Neander (iv.

40) remark, excluded by the fact that the Arians at the time ascribed their leader's death to magical arts (Soz. ii. 29). As to the supposition of miracle—while the opposite party naturally looked on the event as an awful judgment on the heresy and perjury of Arius (see Athan. ad. Episc. Æg. et Lib. 19), it does not appear that we need refer it to a different class from the other sudden deaths which are among the frequent dispensations of Providence. [In this view I have the satisfaction of finding that Bp. Kaye (whose work was published after this note had been originally written) agrees. "There is," he says, "nothing in the circumstance which, if we make due allowance for exaggeration, may not be accounted for by natural causes. It was not a miraculous or preternatural interposition; but a most striking and awful event, occurring in the ordinary course of God's providential government. Athanasius speaks of it as a manifest judgment of God; but the description which he gives of it is that of a natural, though awfully sudden death." p. 79.] See also

Notwithstanding the part which Constantine had taken in the affairs of the church, he had not yet been received as a member of it by baptism,<sup>t</sup> when, in his sixty-fourth year, he was seized with a dangerous sickness, at a palace near Nicomedia. Feeling the approach of death, he sent for some bishops, to whom he declared that he had deferred his baptism A.D. 337. from a wish to receive it in the waters of Jordan, but that, as the opportunity of doing so was denied to him, he begged them to administer the sacrament. After having been admitted by imposition of hands to the highest class of catechumens,<sup>u</sup> he was baptized by the bishop of the neighbouring city, Eusebius,<sup>x</sup> and during

Sir H. Holland in Twisleton, 'The Tongue not essential to Speech,' 200-1. In justice to St. Athanasius, it ought to be stated that his account of the heresiarch's end is free from all appearance of triumph. (See Neand. iv. 39; Möhler, ii. 48). It is curious to compare with the view which Romish writers take of Alexander's prayers and their effect a passage in which Tillemont speaks of the Donatists—"Quand ils trouvoient quelqu'un qui s'opposoit à leur volonté . . . ils le maudissoient, ils faisoient des imprecations contre luy, et jusqu'à luy souhaiter la mort. Que s'il arrivoit ensuite quelque malheur à ces personnes, ou pour leurs péchez ou par la conduite impenetrable de la justice divine, ils se vantoient que c'estoit l'effet de leurs imprecations. Mais voulant qu'on les crut auteurs et causes de la mort des hommes, ils se declaroient homicides." vi. 139.

<sup>t</sup> Gibbon (ii. 162) represents him as having been, nevertheless, admitted to "the mysteries;" but Heinichen (Exkurs. iii.) shows that this is improperly inferred from Euseb. iv. 22. The pagan story—that Constantine, after having put his son and his wife to death, embraced Christianity on finding that the Christian clergy offered him that abas-

ution which paganism refused (Zosim. ii. 29)—is a palpable falsehood. He had professed a belief in the gospel before the death of Crispus, which was in the year after the council of Nicæa; and he was not baptized until much later (see Sozom. i. 15; Schröckh, v. 81-2; Acta SS., Mai. 21, p. 20.) The opposite fable of his baptism by Sylvester (which may be found in Cedrenus, 271), will be mentioned hereafter in connection with the forged donation ascribed to the emperor (see Book IV. c. ix. sect. 1). Niebuhr is inclined to think that Crispus had probably deserved his death; and he rejects, even more decidedly than Gibbon, the story that Fausta was put to death by her husband's order (Vorträge, ed. Isler, iii. 302). On the other side see the authorities in Clinton, A.D. 326; Broglie, ii. 106; Stalley, 238.

<sup>u</sup> Mosheim (De Rebus Christ. 967-9) and Neander (iii. 39-40) suppose him to have been before a catechumen of a lower grade. Valois (in loc. Euseb.), Tillemont (Emp. iv. 658-9), and Schröckh (v. 391-2) think that he was not.

<sup>x</sup> Hence St. Jerome, who is the only authority that names the officiating

the remaining days of his life he retained the white robe of baptism, refusing to wear the imperial purple. On Whitsunday at noon, in the year 337, he expired.<sup>γ</sup>

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## CHAPTER II.

### THE SONS OF CONSTANTINE.

A.D. 337-361.

THE first Christian emperor was succeeded by his three sons, Constantine, Constantius, and Constans. The eldest, who held the sovereignty of Gaul, Spain, and Britain, was killed in 340, in an invasion of Italy, which was part of the territory of Constans; and Constans took possession of all that belonged to his deceased brother.<sup>a</sup> In 350 Constans himself was put to death by Magnentius; and on the defeat of that usurper, in 353, the whole empire was reunited under Constantius, who had until then been sovereign of the east.<sup>b</sup>

Constantine, it is said, intrusted his testament to the same Arian presbyter who had exerted so important an influence on the religious policy of his last years;<sup>c</sup> and

bishop (Augusti, vii. 159) says that Constantine was baptized into Arianism (Chron. A.D. 340). But Eusebius, besides that his local position recommended him as the fittest person to officiate on the occasion, did not blazon his heresy; and the emperor, notwithstanding the influence which the Arians latterly exercised over him, supposed himself to be an unswerving adherent of the Nicene faith. See Acta SS., Mai. 21, pp. 16-17; Jun. Apol. Prælim.

xviii. seqq.; Nat. Alex. vii. Dissert. 24; Tillem. Emp. iv. 267; Gibbon ii. 212; Kaye, 76-7.

<sup>γ</sup> Euseb. iv. 61-4.

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon, ii. 88.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. 98-100.

<sup>c</sup> P. 296. Against this, see De Broglie, ii. 375; iii. 15. Philostorgius says that the testament was given to Eusebius of Nicomedia, as to whom he tells a curious story (ii. 17).



by him it was delivered to Constantius, who happened to be nearer than either of his brothers to the place of their father's death. By this service Eutocius (if that was his name) obtained free entrance to the palace ; and in no long time the Arian doctrine had been embraced by the emperor, the empress, the ladies of her court, and the eunuchs<sup>d</sup>—a class of persons which Constantine had confined to inferior offices,<sup>e</sup> but which in this reign became so important as to justify the sarcasm of a heathen historian, who described the emperor's relation to them by saying that he had considerable interest with their chief.<sup>f</sup> Constantius is characterized as chaste, temperate, and of strict life, but vain and weak, a slave to restless suspicion, and unrelenting in his enmity to those whom he suspected.<sup>g</sup> His interference in the affairs of the church was alike injudicious and unfortunate. Although, like his father, he remained unbaptized until shortly before his death, he pretended to the character of a theologian : his vanity and his ignorance laid him open to the arts in which the leaders of Arianism were skilled ; and throughout his reign the empire was incessantly agitated by religious controversy. The highest questions of Christian doctrine became subjects of common talk, and excited the ignorant zeal of multitudes very imperfectly influenced by Christian principle.<sup>h</sup> The synods were so frequent, that the public posting establishment is said to have been ruined by the continual journeyings of the bishops, to whom the

<sup>d</sup> Rufin. i. 11 ; Soc. ii. 2 ; Soz. iii. 1.

<sup>e</sup> Lamprid. in Hist. Aug. Scriptt., Paris, 1620, p. 137. See Saumaise's note there.

<sup>f</sup> Amm. Marcell. xviii. 4 ; cf. xxii. 4 ; Rufin. i. 15. As to the religion of Ammianus, see the article on him in Herzog's Encyclopædia, by Rettberg, who concludes that he was not a

Christian, but judged favourably of Christianity in consequence of wrongly supposing that it was founded on "general deistic ideas."

<sup>g</sup> Amm. Marcell. xxi. 16 ; Tillem. Emp. iv. 467-9.

<sup>h</sup> Amm. Marcell. l. c. ; Epiphan. lxi. 12 ; Neand. iv. 40-1.

emperor gave the privilege of free conveyance to these assemblies.<sup>i</sup>

Constantine had steadily resisted both the importunity of the Arians, who wished that the see of Alexandria should be filled by one of their own party, and the entreaties of the Alexandrians for the restoration of the rightful bishop, although these were supported by the authority of the famous hermit Antony, whom the emperor admitted to a free correspondence with him.<sup>k</sup> It is said, however, that on his death-bed he gave orders for the recall of Athanasius and other banished bishops.<sup>l</sup> His successors, at a conference in Pannonia, agreed to restore the exiles; and Athanasius, after an absence of about two years and four months, returned to Alexandria, bearing with him a letter, in which the younger Constantine assured the Alexandrian laity that the restoration

was agreeable to the late emperor's intention.<sup>m</sup> A.D. 338. The bishop was received with a joyful welcome by his flock; but the Arian (or Eusebian party) soon renewed its attempts against him. One Pistus, who had been associated with Arius, was set up as a rival bishop. It was represented to Constantius that Athanasius had caused disturbances of the peace; that he had sold the allowance of corn which the emperor had bestowed on the Alexandrian church, and had misappropriated the price; and, further, he was charged with irregularity in resuming his see by the warrant of secular authority alone, whereas he had been deposed by a council of bishops.<sup>n</sup> The same charges,

<sup>i</sup> Amm. Marcell. l. c.

<sup>k</sup> Soz. ii. 31.

<sup>l</sup> Theod. i. 32; Tillem. Emp. iv. 268.

<sup>m</sup> Athan. Apol. c. Arianos, 87; Soc. ii. 2-3; Soz. iii. 2; Theod. ii. 2; Pagi, iv. 324; Hefele, i. 454 9. See Bro-

glie, iii. 16. Dupin, (ii. 36, 58,) and Valois, in his note on Theodoret, make the exile some months more than *one* year.

<sup>n</sup> Rufin. i. 15; Soc. ii. 3; Soz. iii. 9., Tillem. vi. 303-4; viii. 71-3; Hefele, i. 471.

and the old report of the inquiry instituted by his enemies in the Mareotis,<sup>o</sup> were carried to Rome by a deputation of Eusebian clergy, but were there met by some emissaries of Athanasius, who were provided with a synodical letter from nearly a hundred Egyptian bishops, attesting his merits and his innocence.<sup>p</sup>

In the end of 340, or in the beginning of the following year, a council met at Antioch for the dedication of a splendid church which had been founded by Constantine. The number of bishops is said to have been ninety-seven, of whom forty were Eusebians.<sup>q</sup> They passed a number of canons, which have been generally received in the church;<sup>r</sup> one of these, in itself unexceptionable, but framed with a special design that it should become a weapon against Athanasius, enacted that, if any bishop, after having been deposed by a council, should appeal to the temporal power, instead of seeking redress from a higher council, he should forfeit all hope of restoration.<sup>s</sup> It would seem that after a time the Eusebians became dominant in the assembly, either through the retirement of the orthodox bishops, or through reliance on the support of Constantius, who was present.<sup>t</sup> They renewed the charges against Athanasius, condemned him under the canon just mentioned, and, after the bishoprick of Alexandria had been refused by

<sup>o</sup> See p. 299.

<sup>p</sup> Athan. Apol. c. Arianos, 3-19; Soz. iii. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Soc. ii. 8; Tillem. vi. 311-12.

<sup>r</sup> Schelstraten and other Romanists have attempted to account for this by supposing that the canons were passed while the Eusebians were in a minority; and that these, after having seen the other members of the council depart, proceeded to heretical measures; or that there were about the same time an orthodox and an Arian council at Antioch, and that the canons proceeded

from the former (see too Nat. Alex. viii. 31-3). But the reception of the council, as of that of Laodicea (A.D. 372?), is really to be traced to the influence of the "later Nicenes," Basil, the two Gregories, etc., who, having been in early life connected with the Semiarian party, brought with them to the side of orthodoxy many of that party's traditions. Giesel. I. ii. 67-8; Hefele, i. 486-93.

<sup>s</sup> Can. 12.

<sup>t</sup> Pagi, iv. 371-3; Schrockh, vi. 60, 68.

Eusebius (afterwards bishop of Emesa),<sup>u</sup> consecrated to it a Cappadocian named Gregory, a man of coarse and violent character.<sup>x</sup> Gregory immediately proceeded to take possession of his see, accompanied by a military escort, under the command of Philagrius, prefect of Egypt, who was an apostate from the faith. The heretical bishop entered the city in the beginning of Lent. Churches were attacked by the soldiers, with a mob of Arians, Jews, and heathens; and horrible outrages and profanations were committed, which reached their height on the solemn days of the Passion and the Resurrection. The catholics were not only ejected from the churches, but were prevented from holding their worship in private houses. Having thus settled matters in the capital, Gregory set forth on a visitation of his province. A party of soldiers attended on him, and by his orders many bishops, monks, and virgins were beaten—among them the aged Potammon, who was treated with such severity that he died in consequence.<sup>y</sup>

On the arrival of Gregory at Alexandria, Athanasius withdrew to a retreat in the neighbourhood, and after having issued an address to all bishops, desiring them to join in condemnation of the intruder,<sup>z</sup> he betook himself

<sup>u</sup> On this Eusebius, see the edition of the Greek remains ascribed to him, published by Augusti, Elberfeld, 1829, and reprinted in the *Patrol. Gr.* lxxxvi., where, however, it is said that Thilo has shown them to be by another author (462). The Latin sermons on the strength of which he is styled in our *Homilies* (p. 408, Oxf. 1832), "a godly father," are of Gallican authorship, and belong to the fifth and sixth centuries (Cave, i. 207; Augusti, 94; cf. Fessler, in *Patrol. Gr.* 463). The sermon there cited is ascribed by Oudin to Faustus, bishop of Riez (for whom see below, Book III. c. vii), and is printed in the Appendix to St. Jerome, *Patrol.* xxx. Ep. xxxviii. 3.

It was quoted by Guilmund in the eucharistic controversy of the eleventh century (see Book VI. c. iii.) as the work of "sanctus Eusebius Emisenus" (*Patrol.* cxlix. 1483). Although styled by St. Jerome "Arianæ signifier factionis" (*Chron.* A.D. 351), Eusebius seems to have been really a Semiarian. Augusti, 84.

<sup>x</sup> Soc. ii. 8-9; Soz. iii. 5; Tillem. viii. 77, 676-7. Athanasius remarks on the irregularity of appointing a stranger, and that at a distance from the see. *Apol.* 29, 30.

<sup>y</sup> Ath. *Encycl. ad. Episc.* (t. i. 110-18); *Hist. Arian.* 10-13.

<sup>z</sup> The 'Encyclica ad Episcopos Epistola;' Möhler, ii. 61.

to Rome, where a synod of fifty bishops pronounced him innocent, and confirmed to him the communion of the church.<sup>a</sup> Other expelled bishops also appeared before the same council; among them was Marcellus of Ancyra, who had resumed his see on the death of Constantine, and had been again dispossessed of it, but was now able to satisfy Julius of Rome and his brethren that the charges of heresy on which he had been deprived were founded on misapprehension.<sup>b</sup> A correspondence followed between Julius and the eastern bishops, but without any satisfactory result, as the Eusebians, who had before proposed that the case of Athanasius should be referred to a council, evaded the execution of their own proposal when they found that the Alexandrian bishop had himself appeared at Rome.<sup>c</sup>

The council of Antioch produced four creeds.<sup>d</sup> As the death of Arius had released his partisans from the difficulties which arose out of their personal regard for him,<sup>e</sup> they now endeavoured to give plausibility to their cause by approaching as nearly as possible to the orthodox statements, in the hope that by new formularies the Nicene creed might gradually be obscured. In their attacks on Athanasius during the reign of Constantine, they had been careful to advance charges which did not relate to doctrines, but to practical matters;<sup>f</sup> and the same policy of avoiding the open statement of differences as to doctrine was now continued. The creeds of An-

<sup>a</sup> Ath. Apol. i. ; Soz. iii. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Ath. Apol. 32 ; Soz. iii. 8.

<sup>c</sup> Ath. Apol. 20, seqq. ; Soc. ii. 15-17 ; Soz. iii. 10. These events have been related as generally as possible, and with a wish to avoid questions as to the chronology, which seems to be hopelessly entangled. For a statement of the difficulties, and of various schemes which have been proposed, see Newman, *Introd. to Athan. Hist.*

*Tracts*; Hefele, i. 475-6; Broglie, iii. 33-4. One point in dispute is, whether Athanasius went to Rome for the first time after the intrusion of Gregory; or whether he had already been there a year and a half, and had returned to his see a short time before Gregory's appearance.

<sup>d</sup> Hard. i. 605-10.

<sup>e</sup> Neand. iv. 40.

<sup>f</sup> Kaye, 76.

tioch were therefore so composed that in ordinary circumstances they would have been received as satisfactory. The more offensive positions of Arianism were distinctly condemned, and the council repudiated the name of Arians,—“for how,” it was asked, “should we, who are bishops, follow a presbyter?” The dignity of the Saviour was set forth in the highest terms; the studious omission of the word *homōousios* (*co-essential*) was all that could excite suspicion as to the orthodoxy of the framers.<sup>g</sup> Of these formularies, the second (which claimed an older author, the martyr Lucian) was that which afterwards became distinguished as the “Creed of the Dedication.”

In the mean time Constantinople had been the scene of repeated disturbances. Bishop Alexander, on his death-bed, being consulted by some of his clergy as to a successor, replied that, if they wished for a man “apt to teach,” and of holy life, they ought to choose Paul; if they wanted a man of business and address, Aug. 336. with an appearance of piety, they should choose Macedonius, who was a presbyter of long standing.<sup>h</sup> Paul was elected, but was soon deprived by the Arians on various charges of irregularity in his life and in the manner of his appointment. After the death of

Constantine he returned to his see, but was A.D. 339. compelled to make way for Eusebius, who was translated from Nicomedia; and on his death, in 342, the ejected bishop and Macedonius were set up by the opposite parties. The city was thrown into violent commotion, and Constantius sent a military force to suppress the disorder; whereupon the populace set fire to the lodgings of the commander, Hermogenes, dragged him about the streets, and murdered him. The emperor,

<sup>g</sup> Soc. ii. 10; Soz. iii. 5; Pagi, iv. 367-9; Newman on Arianism, 308; Neand. iv. 45; Kaye, 58, 90; Hefele, i. 508.

<sup>h</sup> Soc. ii. 5 (who misdates the affair). Sozomen (iii. 3) says that the Arian account reversed the application of these characters. See Walch, iii. 74.



in great indignation, hastened to Constantinople, drove out Paul, and deprived the citizens of half their allowance of corn; but, regarding Macedonius as a sharer in the cause of the tumult, and being also displeased with him for having allowed himself to be consecrated without seeking the imperial permission, he did not establish him as bishop. Paul soon after returned, but, having allowed himself to be decoyed into an interview by Philip, the prætorian prefect, he was seized and privately sent away by sea, while the prefect proceeded to instal Macedonius. The populace flocked together in excitement, and upwards of three thousand perished, either through the pressure of the crowd, or by the weapons of the soldiery. From 342 to 380, with the exception of two years, the bishoprick of the eastern capital was in the hands of the Arians.<sup>i</sup>

Alarmed by the scenes which had taken place at Constantinople, and by similar tumults in other places,<sup>k</sup> Constantius agreed with Constans, who steadily adhered to the cause of Athanasius, that a general council should be summoned.<sup>l</sup> The place appointed for its meeting was Sardica (now Sophia), in Illyria, a city which stood on the borders of east and west, but within the western division of the empire.<sup>m</sup> Athanasius was desired by Constans to wait on him at Milan, and, through the

<sup>i</sup> Soc. ii. 12, 13, 16; Soz. iii. 7, 9; Tillem. Emp. iv. 327; Mém. vi. 323-5; vii. 254-7, 697-8.

<sup>k</sup> Broglie, iii. 65.

<sup>l</sup> Baronius (346. 5) asserts that the council was summoned by the pope, but is refuted by Pagì. Rohrbacher tells us that—"Il fut convoqué par l'autorité du pape S. Jules; car (!) Socrate nous apprend que quelques orientaux l'accusèrent d'avoir fixé un terme trop court" (vi. 304). Socrates, however, distinctly says that the two emperors summoned it. ii. 20,

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. viii. 92. Mansi, on the authority of a document unknown to the earlier writers, dates the council in 344. His arguments satisfied Schröckh (vi. 78); but Gieseler (I. ii. 54) considers that they had been overthrown by Wetzer, and the old date, 347, was again generally received until the publication of the 'Festal Letters' brought a reinforcement to the opinion that the council sat in 343-4. See n. on Athan. 'Fest. Letters,' 120; Hefele, i. 514-15.

emperor's arrangement, proceeded to Sardica in company with Hosius.<sup>n</sup> About the same time a deputation of oriental bishops appeared at Milan—bearing with them a new creed which had lately been drawn up by a council at Antioch.<sup>o</sup> This document, which from its length was styled *macrostiche*, was in form rather an argument than a definition; and like other late creeds of the same party, it was sound in itself, but provoked suspicion by avoiding the term *co-essential*. The western bishops were dissatisfied with it, partly because their ignorance of Greek made them distrustful, and partly from a wish to adhere to the Nicene creed as sufficient.<sup>p</sup> At Sardica seventy-six eastern and about a hundred western bishops attended,<sup>q</sup> and Hosius presided over the assembly—not as legate of the Roman see, but in right of his age, character, and influence.<sup>r</sup>

The orientals at the outset protested against the admission of Athanasius, Marcellus, and other deposed bishops as members of the council. It was answered that these bishops were not to be regarded as deposed, since the latest decisions were in their favour; that they were ready to meet all charges; and that the council might reopen the whole question from the beginning.<sup>s</sup> But the orientals adhered to their objection, and, finding

<sup>n</sup> Athan. Apol. ad. Const. 4.

<sup>o</sup> This is generally placed before the council of Sardica. Hefele, however, places it after that council (i. 516).

<sup>p</sup> Ath. de Conc. Arim. et Sel. 26; Soc. ii. 19-20; Soz. iii. 10; Tillem. vi. 326, 331; viii. 90; Kaye, 95.

<sup>q</sup> The number is variously given. The statements of many writers (as Soc. ii. 20, and Soz. iii. 20), that there were 300 of the west, is founded on misapprehension of a passage of Athanasius (Apol. 1), which gives the number, not of bishops who were present, but of those who approved the decisions of the council. It seems

probable that there were 170 in all, which, if 76 were orientals, would leave 94 western bishops. Vales. in Soc. ii. 20; Tillem. viii. 681-2; Newman in Ath. Tracts, 70; Kaye, 96-7; Hefele, i. 520-1.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. viii. 93, 681-2. Dean Milman thinks that perhaps Julius, in absenting himself, may have been actuated by a wish not to risk the growing dignity of his see by incurring a comparison with Hosius. iii. 15.

<sup>s</sup> Hilar. Opus Histor., Fragm. ii. 4-6; Fragm. iii. 14, seqq.; Soz. iii. 11. See Hefele, i. 526.

that it was firmly resisted, they withdrew across the border of the empires to Philippopolis, in Thrace, where they held a separate synod under the presidency of Stephen, bishop of Antioch. Two eastern bishops remained at Sardica, while Ursacius of Singidunum (Belgrade), Valens of Mursa (Essek), and three other Arians of the west, took part in the council of Philippopolis.<sup>t</sup> The western council declared the Nicene creed to be sufficient;<sup>u</sup> the orientals drew up a fresh creed, more Arian than those of Antioch;<sup>x</sup> and each assembly passed a sentence of deposition against the most conspicuous members of the other, while Julius of Rome was included amongst those with whom the orientals forbade all communion. The western bishops also enacted a number of canons, and again pronounced Athanasius and Marcellus innocent;<sup>y</sup> but their judgment was not of itself enough to reinstate Athanasius in his see, and he retired to Naïssus, in Dacia.<sup>z</sup>

The party which enjoyed the favour of Constantius continued to occupy the sees of the east, and to exercise fresh violences against the orthodox.<sup>a</sup> After a time, however, the emperor changed his policy—partly in consequence of a threat of war from Constans, who required the restoration of Athanasius,<sup>b</sup> partly through disgust at the detection of an infamous plot which had been laid by Stephen, bishop of Antioch, against some envoys of the western church;<sup>c</sup> and he wrote thrice to Athanasius,

<sup>t</sup> Tillem. viii. 98.

<sup>u</sup> Athan. Tom. ad. Antiochenos, 5, p. 772. Socrates (ii. 20) and Sozomen (iii. 11) wrongly say that they confirmed it by another creed. Schröckh vi. 81; Hefele, i. 534-5.

<sup>x</sup> Hilar. Fragm. iii. 29. See Neand. iv. 47. <sup>y</sup> Hil. Fragm. ii. 8.

<sup>z</sup> Sozom. iii. 13. For the documents, see Hard. i. 637, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Kaye, 103.

<sup>b</sup> Rufin. i. 20; Soc. ii. 22; Soz. iii. 20; Philostorg. iii. 12; Tillem. viii. 692. The fact has been doubted (as by Schröckh, vi. 94, and Neander, iv. 48-9); but Gibbon (ii. 223) considers it to be proved. Although Constans was the weaker, a threat of attack from the west might well alarm Constantius, engaged as he was in a Persian war. Möhler, ii. 78.

<sup>c</sup> Athan. Hist. Arian. 20-1; Theod.

inviting him to resume his see.<sup>d</sup> Athanasius complied with this invitation, and on his way visited Antioch, where he had an interview with Constantius. The emperor begged him, as a favour, to allow one church at Alexandria to those who were not of his communion, and the bishop expressed his willingness to do so, on condition that the members of his communion should receive a like indulgence at Antioch.<sup>e</sup> But Constantius, on conferring with the Arians who had suggested his proposal, found that they were not disposed to make the exchange, as at Antioch orthodoxy was dangerously strong among the laity, whereas at Alexandria both the temper of the people and the abilities of the bishop forbade them to expect any great success.<sup>f</sup>

Athanasius was admitted to communion by a council at Jerusalem, and was recommended to his flock by an imperial letter, which ordered that the record of former proceedings against him should be cancelled.<sup>g</sup> The intruder Gregory had died, or had been killed,<sup>h</sup> a short time before; and Athanasius, on his return to Alexandria, was received with universal rejoicing. The thankfulness of his people was shown in bountiful works of charity, and many persons of both sexes embraced a monastic or ascetic life on the occasion.<sup>i</sup>

His enemies felt that their power was at an end. Ursacius and Valens, the most noted supporters of

ii. 9-10. Stephen was deposed, and in his room was appointed Leontius, who had been a pupil of the martyr Lucian (Philost. ii. 14), and had been degraded from the presbyterate in consequence of having emasculated himself in order that he might enjoy without suspicion the company of a young woman. Ath. Apol. de Fuga, 26; Hist. Ar. 28; Theod. ii. 24.

<sup>d</sup> Ath. Apol. c. Ar. 51 Soc. ii. 23.

• Socrates less probably says that he

required this in every city where the Arians had the ascendancy. ii. 23.

<sup>e</sup> Rufin. i. 20; Soz. iii. 20; Theod. ii. 12.

<sup>f</sup> Ath. Apol. 56-7; Hist. Ar. 22-4; Soc. iii. 24.

<sup>h</sup> Theodoret (ii. 12) says that he was killed by some of his people; but W. Lowth (not in loc.) supposes that here, as elsewhere, Gregory is confounded with the later intruder, George.

<sup>i</sup> Ath. Hist. Ar. 25; Möhler, ii. 83.

Arianism in the west, went to Rome, and, with a profession of regret for the part which they had been induced to take against the bishop of Alexandria, entreated a council to receive them into communion.<sup>k</sup> But the hopes of the Arians were speedily revived by the murder of Constans, although Constantius wrote to assure Athanasius that he should find from him the same support as from his brother ;<sup>l</sup> and they renewed their machinations against the Alexandrian bishop by attacking his adherents in other quarters. This policy was favoured by the circumstance that some of their opponents had lately run into serious errors. Marcellus of Ancyra was again deposed—  
A.D. 350.  
 having, it would seem, developed his hetero-  
A.D. 351.  
 doxy more distinctly.<sup>m</sup> His pupil Photinus, bishop of Sirmium, went so far as to teach palpable Sabellianism : that there was no personal distinction in the Godhead ; that the Logos was nothing else than the Divine attribute of wisdom, which at length was manifested in Jesus, whom he regarded as a mere man, although supernaturally born ; and that the Holy Ghost was only an influence.<sup>n</sup> For these tenets Photinus was repeatedly condemned, and in 351 he was deposed by a synod held

<sup>k</sup> Ath. Apol. i, 2, 58 ; Hist. Ar. 26, Soc. ii. 24 ; Soz. iii. 23 ; Pagi, iv. 478 ; Kaye, 106. Gibbon's doubts (ii. 224) are refuted by Dean Milman in his note, by Möhler (ii. 82), and by Dr. Newman in Ath. Tracts, 86.

<sup>l</sup> Hist. Ar. 24.

<sup>m</sup> Tillem. vi. 350.

<sup>n</sup> See Epiphan. Hæres. lxi.-ii. ; Sulpic. Sever. Hist. Sac. ii. 36-7 (Patrol. xx.) ; Nat. Alex. viii. Diss. 30 ; Walch, iii. 34-8 ; Schröckh, vi. 187-8 ; Neand. v. 95 ; vi. 431 ; Giesel. I. ii. 55-6 ; Newman on Ath. Orations, 114 ; Hagenb. i. 254-5 ; Hefele, i. 610, seqq. Dr. Newman (note on Ath. Orat. 502,

seqq.), followed by Bp. Kaye (268-9), thinks that the so-called ' Fourth Oration against the Arians ' is chiefly meant against Marcellus and Photinus, although, as in the parallel case of Apollinarius (see the end of next chapter), St. Athanasius does not name his opponent. A document published by Montfaucon leads to the opinion that Marcellus, shortly before his death, recanted his errors, and was again acknowledged by St. Athanasius, who had excommunicated him (Hilar. Fragm. ii. 21). See Walch, iii. 254-5 ; Hefele, i. 456-7 ; Stanley, 286.

in his own city.<sup>o</sup> About the same time many orthodox bishops were also ejected from their sees. Paul of Constantinople, who had recovered his bishoprick before or soon after the council of Sardica,<sup>p</sup> was again driven out, and was carried off to Cucusus, a savage place in the lesser Armenia, where, after having been for some time deprived of food, he was strangled.<sup>q</sup> Macedonius was intruded into the see, and behaved with such violence—branding, fining, banishing, and even putting to death, those who were opposed to him, both in Constantinople and in other places to which his power extended,—that the emperor himself found it necessary to remonstrate with him. The Novatianists, who had retained their orthodoxy as to the doctrines impugned by Arius, were exposed to the same persecution with the catholics; and when these were deprived of their own churches, they resorted to the three which the Novatianists possessed within the city. But, although a temporary connexion was thus established by the community of suffering, the principles of the sect prevented its permanent reconciliation with the church.<sup>r</sup>

On the 8th of September 351 a great battle was fought between the troops of Constantius and Magnentius near Mursa (now Essek), the episcopal city of Valens. During the engagement, Constantius was praying in a church, with the bishop at his side; and it is said that Valens, having learnt the defeat of the enemy by means of a chain of scouts, announced it as having been revealed to him by an angel.<sup>s</sup> By this artifice, or by some other means, Valens gained an influence over the emperor's mind, and

<sup>o</sup> Ath. de Conc. Arim. et Sel. 27; Pagi, iv. 478, 503; Walch, iii. 61-2; Giesel. I. ii. 55-6; Newman on Ath. Orat. 160; Hefele, i. 618, seqq.

<sup>p</sup> Pagi, iv. 463; Tillem. xii. 257-8.

<sup>q</sup> Ath. Hist. Ar. 7; Vita S. Pauli,

Acta SS., Jun. 7.

<sup>r</sup> Soc. ii. 26-7, 38; Soz. iv. 2; Tillem. vi. 397-402.

<sup>s</sup> Sulpic. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 38; Gibbon, ii. 96, 213.



he diligently used it for the furtherance of the opinions which he had for a time pretended to disown. Constantius was assailed with a multitude of charges against Athanasius. He was persuaded that the bishop was proceeding tyrannically in Egypt and Libya against all who would not submit to him. Much was made of the fact that on his way to Alexandria, after his late exile, he had conferred ordination in dioceses where the bishops were opposed to his opinions.<sup>†</sup> It was said that he had caused the death of the younger Constantine; that he had exasperated Constans against Constantius; and—a charge which he repelled with especial horror and indignation—that he had corresponded with the murderer of Constans, the usurper Magnentius.<sup>‡</sup>

Liberius, who in April 352 succeeded Julius as bishop of Rome,<sup>x</sup> was immediately beset by complaints of the orientals against Athanasius; but a letter from an Egyptian synod determined him to disregard them Aug. 10, as unfounded.<sup>y</sup> In the following year, how- 353- ever, the power of the Alexandrian bishop's enemies was increased by the final defeat of Magnentius, in consequence of which Constantius came into undisputed possession of the west. Their object now was to procure a condemnation of him from the western bishops, who, although sound in faith, were for the most part liable to be imposed on through their ignorance of the Greek theological subtleties, and through fear of their new sovereign, by whom the matter was studiously represented as a personal question between himself and a refractory

<sup>†</sup> Soz. iii. 21. Such a transgression of the usual rules could only be justified by necessity. See Bingham IV. vi 5.

<sup>‡</sup> Ath. Apol. ad. Const. 1, 2, 6, &c.; Soc. ii. 26; Soz. iii. 21; iv. 2, 11.

<sup>x</sup> Baron. 352. 1; Pagi, iv. 505.

<sup>y</sup> Liber. ap. Hilar. Fragm. v. 2.

There is an improbable story, resting on a spurious letter in Hilary, Fragm. iv., that Liberius at first took part against Athanasius, and altered his policy on learning the true state of the case. See Tillem. vi. 352; viii. 138-140, 695-6; Dupin, ii. 75-6; Hefele, I. 626; Broglie, iii. 233-5.

bishop.<sup>2</sup> A synod was held at Arles, where Liberius was represented by Vincent, bishop of Capua (perhaps the same who, as a presbyter, had been one of the Roman legates at Nicæa<sup>a</sup>), and by another Campanian bishop.

The emperor insisted on the condemnation  
A.D. 353. of Athanasius, and Vincent, on proposing, by way of compromise, that the opinions of Arius should at the same time be anathematized, was told that these were not then in question. The legate at length yielded and subscribed. Liberius, in deep distress on account of his representative's compliance, requested the emperor to call a free council for the investigation of the case; and the Eusebians, although with very different objects, also pressed for the assembling of a council.<sup>b</sup> The petition thus urged from different quarters was granted, and in 355 about three hundred western bishops, with a few from the east, met at Milan. The sessions of the council were held in the palace, and its deliberations were overawed by Constantius and his soldiers. An edict of Arian purport was read, the substance of which the emperor professed to have received by revelation; and he dwelt on the success of his arms as a proof that the Divine blessing rested on his opinions. The attempts of some orthodox bishops to obtain an inquiry into the question of faith was met by Ursacius and Valens with a peremptory demand that they should join in the condemnation of Athanasius and should communicate with the dominant party; and the sentence was signed by all but three bishops, Eusebius of Vercelli, Lucifer of Cagliari, and Dionysius of Milan. To the objection that the acts required of the orthodox were unwarranted by the rules of the church, the emperor replied, "Whatever I will, let that be esteemed a canon; for the bishops of Syria allow

<sup>a</sup> Newman, 329; Neander, iv. 32.

<sup>b</sup> Tillem. v. 358.

<sup>b</sup> Hil. Fragm. v., vi. 34; Baron. 353-18; Tillem. vi. 357-9.

me to speak so.”<sup>c</sup> The three recusants were banished, many other bishops were sent into exile, and their places were filled with intruders, whose heterodoxy was their only qualification for the episcopate.<sup>d</sup> A general persecution was carried on for the purpose of enforcing conformity to the emperor’s will, while the orthodox cried out that the days of Nero and of Decius had returned.<sup>e</sup>

There were still two important persons in the west to be gained by the victorious party—Liberius, conspicuous for his position, and Hosius, the “father of the bishops,”<sup>f</sup> who had been a confessor under Maximin, had sat in the council of Illiberis half a century before, and had been president of the council of Sardica,—perhaps even of the great council of Nicæa.<sup>g</sup> After some fruitless overtures had been made to Liberius, the influential chief of the eunuchs, Eusebius, was sent to Rome, for the purpose of tempting him by offers and by threats; and, as the bishop refused to wait on Constantius, he was forcibly carried off from his city in the middle of the night. On his arrival at Milan, he was admitted to several interviews with the emperor, of whom he demanded that a council unrestrained by the imperial influence should be summoned to investigate the case of Athanasius. Constantius reproached him as being the only bishop who still adhered to the Egyptian primate, whose removal the emperor professed to regard as more important to himself than the victories which he had gained over Magnentius and other pretenders to the throne. Liberius was firm; he refused the offer of three days for consideration; and, on receiving sentence of banishment to Berœa,

<sup>c</sup> Ath. Hist. Arian. iv. 8.

<sup>d</sup> Soc. ii. 36; Ath. Hist. Ar. 33-4; Eus. Vercell., Patrol. xii. 947, seqq.; Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 39; Hard. i. 697-700; Baron. 355. 2, seqq.; Tillem. vi. 362-3; vii. 532, seqq.; Möhler, ii.

124; Kaye, 110.

<sup>e</sup> Hil. c. Constant. 7; Baron. 353. 17-23; Tillem. vi. 366-80; vii. 525. 544; Gibbon, ii. 226-7.

<sup>f</sup> Athan. Hist. Ar. 42.

<sup>g</sup> See p. 289.

in Thrace,<sup>n</sup> he indignantly rejected large sums of money which were sent to him by the emperor, the empress, and the chief of the eunuchs, as contributions towards the expenses of his journey.<sup>i</sup> Hosius also withstood all attempts to shake his constancy, and, after having been kept under restraint a year, was banished to Sirmium.<sup>k</sup> In the room of Liberius, the archdeacon Felix (who, however, is said by some authorities<sup>l</sup> to have been orthodox in faith) allowed himself to be consecrated by three foreign bishops, the chief of whom was Acacius of Cæsarea, in Palestine.<sup>m</sup>

The Arians now thought themselves strong enough to proceed to the ejection of Athanasius. Several attempts were made to draw him away from his see by the use of the emperor's name; but he refused to attend to anything short of a warrant as express as that which had authorized his restoration, or as the assurance of protection which Constantius had voluntarily given him after the death of Constans.<sup>n</sup> As the emperor was reluctant to grant such a warrant (apparently out of fear that it might provoke an insurrection of the Alexandrians and a stoppage of the corn supplies on which Constantinople depended),<sup>o</sup> another course of proceeding was adopted. Syrian, general of Egypt, who was charged to effect the removal of the bishop, lulled him and his flock into security by promising to write to the emperor for distinct instructions, and about three

<sup>n</sup> A different place from that of the same name in Acts xvii. Tillem. vi. 768.

<sup>i</sup> Ath. Hist. Ar. 35-7; Soz. iv. 11; Tillem. vi. 381-6; Gibbon, ii. 228.

<sup>k</sup> Baron. 355: 61-8; Möhler, ii. 130-3.

<sup>l</sup> As the author of the Pontificals, in Murat. iii. 113, or Patrol. cxxviii. 31; Soz. ii. 7; and Theod. iv. 11.

<sup>m</sup> Soc. ii. 37; Baron. 355. 55-7. 357.

62-3; Tillem. vi. 386-7. On the question whether Felix should be acknowledged in the Roman church as pope and martyr, there is a curious story in Schröckh, viii. 105. See too Ciacon. i. 246-8; Acta SS., Feb. 25, p. 506; Jul. 29, pp. 54, seqq.; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 62; Hefele, i. 638.

<sup>n</sup> Ath. Apol. ad Const. 19-27.

<sup>o</sup> Gibbon, ii. 229; Milman, iii. 26

weeks later proceeded to execute his purpose. In the night of the 9th of February, 356, as Athanasius with many of the Alexandrians was preparing for a celebration of the eucharist by keeping vigil in the church of St. Theonas, the general, with 5000 soldiers and a mob of Arians, surrounded the building. The bishop, hearing the noise without, calmly seated himself on his throne, and desired that the 136th Psalm should be sung—the whole congregation joining in the response “For his mercy endureth for ever.” The soldiers forced the doors, and a fearful confusion ensued. Many persons were trodden under foot, crushed to death, or pierced with javelins; the consecrated virgins were stripped and beaten; the soldiers pressed onwards to the choir, and Athanasius was urged to save himself by flight. But he declared that he would not depart until his people were safe, and, rising, desired them to join in prayer, and to withdraw as quickly as possible. The bishop himself was determined to remain to the last; but as the danger became more urgent, the clergy, when the greater part of the congregation had escaped, closed round him, and carried him away, exhausted and in a swoon. The soldiery and the mob continued their outrages, and the ornaments of the church were plundered or defaced. The catholics of Alexandria addressed the emperor in a protest against the violence which had been committed; but he replied by justifying Syrian, and ordering them to discover and give up Athanasius.<sup>p</sup>

In the beginning of Lent, a new Arian bishop, named George, a Cappadocian, like his Arian predecessor Gregory, arrived at Alexandria. This intruder, although he was recommended in extravagant terms by imperial

<sup>p</sup> Ath. Apol. ad Const. 24-30; de Fuga, 24; Hist. Arian. 81; Index to Fest. Lett. xxii.; Soc. ii. 24, 28;

Soz. iv. 2; Theod. iii. 13; Pagi, iv. 558-61.

letters,<sup>a</sup> is described by the catholic writers as a man who had behaved discredibly in low secular employments ; rude, illiterate, and disdaining even to put on an outward show of piety.<sup>r</sup> The reproach of gross ignorance is hardly consistent with the fact of his possessing a library so rich both in Christian and in heathen literature, that after his death it excited the interest of the emperor Julian ;<sup>s</sup> but the other charges are confirmed by the testimony of the pagan Ammianus Marcellinus ; indeed George, by his exactions, became no less odious to the pagans than he was to the orthodox.<sup>t</sup> Supported by the civil power, he raged against the catholics of every class—bishops, clergy, monks, virgins, and laity—plundering, scourging, mutilating, banishing, and committing to the mines. Some bishops died in consequence of the cruelties which were inflicted on them. One renegade, who joined the usurper's party, submitted to re-ordination. After a time George was driven out by his people, and took refuge with the emperor ; but he returned with ampler powers, and made himself more detested than ever.<sup>u</sup>

The aged Hosius, worn out by exile, imprisonment, privation, and even torture, at length gave way, and in 357 subscribed at Sirmium a heterodox creed, of which it was even pretended that he was the author ; but he did not, apparently, sign the condemnation of Athanasius. By this submission he recovered his see ; and he died shortly after at the age of a hundred or upwards. Athanasius, who speaks of him with tenderness and pity, states that on his death-bed he protested against the violence to which he had been subjected, and abjured the errors to which he had yielded a forced assent.<sup>x</sup>

Ath. Apol. ad. Const. 30.

<sup>r</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. 16 ; Baron. 356. 14 ; Gibbon, ii. 321 ; Möhler, ii. 161.

<sup>s</sup> Julian. Epp. 9, 36.

<sup>t</sup> Amm. Marc. xxii. 11 ; Epiphani.

lxxvi. 1.

<sup>u</sup> Ath. Apol. de Fuga, 6-7 ; Soz. iv. 10, 30 ; Theod. ii. 14 ; Newman on Ath. Orat. 134 ; Kaye, 135-6.

<sup>x</sup> Ath. Apol. c. Arian. 89 ; Hist. A-



The fall of Hosius was speedily followed by that of Liberius. In April 357, Constantius visited Rome, where no emperor had been seen since 326. A number of ladies of rank, after having in vain endeavoured to persuade their husbands to undertake the office of intercession, waited on him with a petition for the recall of Liberius. Constantius answered that the bishop might return if he could agree with his brethren of the court party, and proposed that he and Felix should jointly govern the church. This compromise, on being announced in the circus, was received with a derisive cry, that it would suit well with the factions into which the frequenters of that place were divided—that each of the colours might have a bishop for its head; and the whole assembly burst into a shout, “One God, one Christ, one bishop!”<sup>1</sup> But in the following winter Liberius, weary of his Thracian exile, entreated in abject terms that he might be recalled. He professed to concur heartily with Ursacius, Valens, and their oriental partisans; he appeared even greedy of humiliation in disavowing his former opinions; and, after subscribing an Arian or Semiarian creed,<sup>2</sup> he was allowed to return to Rome. Felix was

45; Vales. in Soc. iii. 31; Tillem. vi. 318-21, 417; vii. 317; Neand. iv. 65; Kaye, 114. A story as to the end of Hosius, told by the Lucifemians Marcellinus and Faustinus (Libell. Precum. 10, Patrol. xiii.), seems fabulous. The editor of Mariana (Madrid, 1817, t. iii. 200), in his national zeal, denies the fall of the great Spanish bishop.

<sup>1</sup> Soz. iv. 11. See Faustin. et Marcell. Præf. ad Libell. 1 (Patrol. xiii. 81); Lib. Pontif. (ib. cxxviii. 30); Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 63-4.

<sup>2</sup> Hil. Fragm. vi. 4-10. Some Romanists, as Baronius (357. 43-53), endeavour to make it appear that the creed which he signed was the *first* Sirmian (Hard. i. 701)—the production of the synod which condemned Photi-

nus in 351—a form which was not heretical. Tillemont (vi. 772-4), Fleury (xiii. 46), Döllinger (i. 83), and Bishop Kaye (113), incline to this opinion—Tillemont avowedly on the ground of charity, and the bishop with some misgivings. Its improbability is shown by Schröckh (vi. 138), and Neander (iv. 65). Neander says that the creed was certainly not the first creed of Sirmium; that it *may* have been the third (Hard. i. 709)—see below, p. 328, which condemned both the *homoousion* and the *homoiousion*; but that it was most likely the second (ib. 705)—the same which Hosius had signed. Petavius holds that it was a creed different from any of those which are given by Athanasius (De Trin. I. ix. 5). Dupin (ii.

expelled, not without bloodshed between the parties of the rival bishops, according to some accounts; and the remaining eight years of his life were spent in peaceful obscurity.<sup>a</sup>

Arianism appeared to be everywhere triumphant; but in this time of triumph internal differences, which had hitherto been concealed, began to show themselves openly.<sup>b</sup>

(1.) It had been the policy of the Arians or Eusebians to veil their heresy by abstaining from any distinct declaration on the most critical points, and putting forth professions which in themselves were sound, although short of the full catholic belief. And now an unexpected result of this system appeared: the formulas which had been intended speciously to cover the heterodoxy of their framers had in the course of years trained up a party which honestly held them, without the errors which the more advanced Arians had been careful to keep in reserve. The Semiarians or *homoiousians* <sup>c</sup> (as they are

77) and Möhler (ii. 204) consider the matter doubtful. Rohrbacher (vi. 429-32, 438-9), following some earlier writers of his church (see Schröckh, vi. 139), boldly denies the pope's lapse altogether! See Newman on Ath. Orat. 161-2; Broglie, iii. 386-8. Hefele thinks that the Fragments are not by Hilary, and that the Letters there ascribed to Liberius are spurious; but that Liberius is proved to have shown *some* weakness by the testimony of Athanasius (Hist. Arian. ad Monachos, 41), Jerome (de VV. Illustr. 97; Chron. A.D. 352), and others. He supposes the creed signed by him to have been the third of Sirmium, and that he gave up only the *word* "co-essential," not the doctrine. i. 658, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Soz. iv. 15; Theod. ii. 17; Faust. et Marcell. Præf. i. 2. "The adherents of Felix," says Gibbon (ii. 237), "were inhumanly murdered in the

streets, in the public places, in the baths, and even in the churches; and the face of Rome, upon the return of a Christian bishop, renewed the horrid image of the massacres of Marius and the proscriptions of Scylla." Sozomen (iv. 11-15) and Sulpicius Severus (Hist. Sac. ii. 39), mention tumults and bloodshed *before* the restoration of Liberius; but Gibbon's statement, although made in such terms as if the matter had never been questioned, rests on no better authority than that of the Pontificals (Patrol. cxxviii. 31), which is allowed to be worthless. See Labbe, Concilia, ii. 739-40; Tillem. vi. 437-8; Bower, i. 141; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 64.

<sup>b</sup> Rufin. i. 25; Tillem. vii. 411; Schröckh, vi. 140; Neand. iv. 58-9, Kaye, 123.

<sup>c</sup> From *ὁμοιούσιος*, "of like essence or substance."

styled) believed that the Son was "like in all things" to the Father; that his essence was *like* that of the Father—differing from it only in not being identical with it; that he was truly a Son, begotten beyond time and before all worlds.<sup>d</sup> Eusebius of Cæsarea was the precursor of Semiarianism; but its appearance as the distinctive doctrine of a party did not take place until long after his death. There was much of personal respectability and of piety among the Semiarians. Athanasius and Hilary speak of them as brethren—being willing to believe that they were not really heterodox, but only scrupled at the use of the word "co-essential," as apparently savouring of Sabellianism, and as having been condemned in Paul of Samosata. To this party—of which Basil of Ancyra and George of Laodicea were the leaders—the majority of the eastern bishops now belonged.<sup>e</sup>

(2.) On the other hand, Arianism for the first time came forth without disguise in the doctrines of Aëtius and his pupil Eunomius.<sup>f</sup> The former, a man of very low origin, who in early life had been a goldsmith, was ordained deacon by Leontius of Antioch,<sup>g</sup> and was afterwards deposed by him. Aëtius is described as notorious for his disputatious character. His early education had been scanty; but at a later time he acquired from a philosopher of Alexandria a knowledge of geometry and dialectics, and, without having any proper acquaintance with ecclesiastical learning, he insisted on applying the rules of these sciences as the measure of religious truth.<sup>h</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Newman on Arianism, 317-19.

<sup>e</sup> Ath. de Synod. 41; Hil. de Synod. 76-91; Soz. iii. 13; iv. 19; Schröckh, vi. 109-12; Möhler, ii. 230; Newman, 318-20; n: on Ath. Orat. 17, 63, 103, 129, 138; Kaye, 108, 132. Athanasius argues strongly against scrupling at terms when the belief is the same. De

Synod. 33-4, 54—in the latter place, with reference to the Semiarians.

<sup>f</sup> Basil. c. Eunom. i. 1.

<sup>g</sup> Philostorg. iii. 15, 17; Fragm. ap Suidam, in Patrol. lxxv. 629. This writer, being himself an anomœan, extols Aëtius.

<sup>h</sup> Epiphani. lxxvi. 2.

Aëtius unflinchingly carried out the principles of Arianism to their conclusions, so as to offend and annoy the more cautious of its professors, who spoke of him as "the godless."<sup>i</sup> He maintained that the Son, as being a creature, was necessarily unlike the Father, not only in substance but in will;<sup>k</sup> and from this tenet his party got the name of *anomœans*.<sup>l</sup> Eunomius, who attained to the bishoprick of Cyzicum,<sup>m</sup> went still further in the same direction. Although he professed to refer to Scripture, his system was not founded on it, but was merely a work of reasoning. It was purely intellectual, excluding all reference to the affections. He discarded the idea of mystery in religion; he held that God knows no more of his own nature than man may know of it; that the Son resembles the Father in nothing but his working; that the Holy Spirit was created by the Son. He denied all sacramental influences, and—unlike Arius, who was himself a man of rigid life—he opposed everything like asceticism.<sup>n</sup>

(3.) Between the Anomœans and the Semiarians stood the crafty, secular, and unscrupulous party which was now called after Acacius, the successor of Eusebius in the see of Cæsarea.<sup>o</sup> Agreeing in principles with the anomœans, they by turns favoured them when it was safe,

<sup>i</sup> Epiphan. lxxvi. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Ib. 2; Soc. ii. 35; Soz. iv. 12; Theod. ii. 24; Newman, 360-1; n. on Ath. Orat. 3, 11; Kaye, 130.

<sup>l</sup> From *ἀνόμοιος*, *unlike*.

<sup>m</sup> Philostorg. v. 3.

<sup>n</sup> Eunom. ap. Basil. adv. Eunom. 1. 23; ii. 1, 32-3; Philostorg. vi. 1; viii. 18 (where Eunomius is celebrated for the clearness of his teaching); Rufin. i. 25; Theodoret. Hær. iv. 3, p. 227; Epiph. lxxvi. 4; Philastrius adv. Hæreses, 68 (Patrol. xii. 7); Soc. iv. 7; Suicer, s. v. *Εὐνόμιος*; Schröckh, vi. 122-32; Neand. iv. 50; vi. 420; New-

man, 363; Hefele, i. 647-50. The anomœan views were combated by both the Gregories, as well as by Basil (Greg. Naz. Orat. 27-31; Greg. Nyss. tt. i., iii.) The Eunomians are said to have been the first to introduce single instead of trine immersion in baptism: They had some strange baptismal rites, and re-baptized converts not only from catholicism, but from other forms of Arianism. Soz. vi. 26; Philostorg. x. 4; Epiph. lxxvi. p. 992; Theod. Hær. iv. 3, p. 236.

<sup>o</sup> Epiph. lxxiii. 27 Kaye, 108.

and disavowed them when it would have been inconvenient to show them countenance; and for a time they endeavoured to conceal the difference between themselves and the Semiarians as to the essence (*οὐσία*) of the Son by proscribing the term as unscriptural, and as having been the source of trouble to the church.<sup>p</sup> The emperor's own opinions were Semiarian; but the policy of Acacius and the personal influence of Valens counterbalanced his doctrinal convictions.<sup>q</sup>

Leontius, who had been appointed bishop of Antioch on the deprivation of Stephen in 349,<sup>r</sup> and had endeavoured to preserve peace in his church by an equivocating policy,<sup>s</sup> died in the end of 357. On being informed of his death, Eudoxius, bishop of Germanicia, who was in attendance on the emperor in the west, requested leave to go into Syria under false pretences, and got possession of the vacant see. The favour which the new bishop openly showed to Aëtius provoked the Semiarians to hold a council at Ancyra, A.D. 358. where they condemned the anomœan doctrine and the second creed of Sirmium;<sup>t</sup> and their decisions were ratified by the emperor, who, at their desire, resolved to summon a general council for the final settlement of the

<sup>p</sup> See the second creed of Sirmium in Hil. de Synodis, 11; Neand. iv. 64-5. Acacius said that the Son was "like" the Father—not "like in substance." Newman on Ath. Orat. 7.

<sup>q</sup> Petav. de Trin. I. xii. 1-3; Newman, 459; Giesel. I. ii. 58.

<sup>r</sup> See p. 313.

<sup>s</sup> In illustration of this we are told that in the doxology, where the Arians chanted "Glory be to the Father, *by* the Son, *in* the Holy Ghost," while the catholics adhered to the ancient form, the bishop sang in such a manner that his words could not be made out until

he came to that part in which all agreed; and that, pointing to his white hairs, he used to say—"When this snow melts, there will be much mud,"—meaning that his death would be the signal for commotions. (Soz. iii. 20.) The second of these stories is strangely misapplied by Jeremy Taylor, (vol. viii. 356, ed. Eden)—perhaps through a confusion with a similar saying ascribed to the French statesman L'Hospital. See Martin, Hist. de France, ix. 201.

<sup>t</sup> See above, p. 323, note <sup>a</sup>.

questions which had so long distracted the church.<sup>u</sup> On this the Acacians took the alarm, and, fearing that both catholics and Semiarians might unite to condemn them, they fell on the expedient of dividing the council, in the hope that they might be able to manage its separate portions. Their arguments as to the difficulties and the expense of bringing bishops from all parts of his dominions to one place were successful with Constantius. It was resolved that the western branch of the church should be cited to Rimini, and the eastern to Nicæa; and that ten deputies from each division should afterwards meet in the presence of the emperor.<sup>x</sup>

About four hundred and fifty bishops assembled at Rimini in May 359, under the presidency (as is supposed) of Restitutus, bishop of Carthage.<sup>y</sup> A creed, drawn up by some Acacians and Semiarians at a previous meeting, and known as the Third Creed of Sirmium, was offered to the council by Valens and Ursacius. It proscribed the term *essence* as unscriptural and liable to misapprehension, and declared the Son to be "like the Father in all things, as the Holy Scriptures say and teach." The Acacians hoped that the catholics would be drawn to subscribe by taking these words according to their most obvious sense, while for themselves they interpreted them as meaning *like in all things to which Scripture extends the likeness*;<sup>z</sup> but the bishops, although for the most part unskilled in theological subtleties, were animated by a strong distrust of the party, and declared that the Nicene creed was sufficient. Ursacius, Valens, and four others were excommunicated for refusing to

<sup>u</sup> Hil. de Synod. 12, seqq.; Soc. ii. 36; Soz. iv. 12-14; Pagi, iv. 626; Tillem. vi. 422-3, 431-3, 775; Giesel. I. ii. 59-60; Newman on Ath. Orat. 162-3.

<sup>x</sup> Soz. iv. 16-17; Theod. ii. 26; Neand. iv. 66-7; Newman, 366-7.

<sup>y</sup> Hefele, i. 678.

<sup>z</sup> Ath. de Synod. 8; Newman, n. on Ath. Orat. 83, 163; Soc. ii. 36; Soz. iv. 17; Tillem. vi. 444-5; Neand. iv. 67-8; Kaye, 23. The explanation of the evasion is not uniform.



sign it ;<sup>a</sup> and deputies of each party were sent off to the emperor, with a request that no innovation on the faith might be attempted, and that the members of the council might be allowed to return to their homes. Constantius, who was on the point of setting out for the seat of the Persian war, deferred seeing the envoys until his return, on the ground that his mind was so occupied by political business as to be unfit for the due consideration of Divine things. During his absence, the representatives of the council, who were detained at Nice in Thrace, were practised on by his courtiers ;<sup>b</sup> and thus after a time they were drawn into signing the same creed which had been offered for acceptance at Rimini, but rendered more objectionable by the omission of the words "in all things." In the meantime, their brethren who had remained at Rimini were sedulously plied with arguments from the emperor's character and intentions, from the desirableness of peace, the inexpediency of contending about (as was said) a mere question of words, the hopelessness of bringing the orientals to adopt the term *co-essential*. Valens, by way of dissipating their suspicions, uttered anathemas which seemed to be altogether irreconcilable with Arianism ; and at length, pressed by solicitations, desirous to return to their homes before winter, and deluded as to the meaning of their act, they also subscribed the formula which was presented to them.<sup>c</sup> "The whole world," says St. Jerome, "groaned, and was astonished to find itself Arian." On returning to their dioceses, the bishops began to under-

<sup>a</sup> Hilar. Fragm. vii. 3-4 ; Soc. ii. 36 ; Soz. iv. 17.

<sup>b</sup> Sulpicius Severus says that the deputies chosen by the orthodox were young men, wanting in learning and in caution, while those of the Arians were crafty and able old men, "veneno perfidiæ imbuti, qui apud regem facile

superiores exstiterunt." Hist. Sac. ii. 41.

<sup>c</sup> Athan. ad Afros, 3 ; Hilar. Fragm. vii.-ix. ; Rufin. i. 21 ; Soc. ii. 36-7 ; Soz. iv. 19 ; Tillem. vi. 456 ; Schröckh, vi. 149-53 ; Möhler, ii. 211-2 ; Newman, 373-4 ; Kaye, 126-31.

stand the import of their submission. Many of them then repudiated the creed which they had signed, and wrote letters of sympathy to Athanasius.<sup>d</sup>

The place of the eastern council's meeting had been transferred from Nicæa to Nicomedia; but in consequence of an earthquake, by which that city was reduced to ruins, a further change became necessary, and Seleucia, the capital of Isauria, was eventually fixed on.<sup>e</sup> The whole number of bishops who attended was about a hundred and sixty, of whom a hundred and five were Semiarians, thirty-five Acacians, and the rest orthodox.<sup>f</sup> The last of these parties was composed of Egyptians, together with Hilary, bishop of Poitiers, one of the most powerful champions of the catholic faith, who had been

Sept. 359. banished into Phrygia in the year 356, and was now summoned to take part in the deliberations of his eastern brethren.<sup>g</sup> The Acacians, finding themselves outnumbered, attempted under various pretences to break up the assembly; and the dissensions which arose were so violent that the imperial commissary, Leonas, found himself obliged to dissolve it. The majority signed the "creed of the dedication;"<sup>h</sup> the Acacians condemned both *homoöusion* (of the same essence) and *homoiousion* (of like essence) as inexpedient, and anathematized the term *anomoion* (unlike).<sup>i</sup> Both Semiarians and Acacians sent off deputies to the court; and, although Constantius agreed in opinion with the Semi-

<sup>d</sup> Hieron. c. Lucif. 18, 19; Hil. Fragm. xi., xii. 2-3. Liberius, who was not present at the council, is said to have recovered himself by a strenuous opposition to its creed. Baron. 359. 46-8; Tillem. vi. 464.

<sup>e</sup> Philostorg. iv. 10; Newman, n. on Ath. Orat. 73.

<sup>f</sup> Hil. ad Const. 12; Soc. ii. 39; Soz. iv. 22; Tillem. vi. 466-7; Newman, 368, and n. on Ath. Orat. 88. The general

proportions are alike in the several accounts, although with differences of detail.

<sup>g</sup> Schröckh, xii. 61, 308; Neand. iv. 53-4; Möhler, ii. 134-5.

<sup>h</sup> See above, p. 310.

<sup>i</sup> Hard. i. 724; Soc. ii. 39-40; Tillem. vi. 492-3. Hilary says that they did this on finding that "men's ears could not endure words of such impiety" as *anomoion*. See Contra Constant. 14.

arians, and the council had been convened for the purpose of establishing their ascendancy, the Acacians, by contriving to be the first to reach him, succeeded in winning his ear.<sup>k</sup> A council was held at Constantinople in the emperor's presence, where each party preferred charges against its opponents. Aëtius was deposed from the diaconate, being given up by the Acacians as a scapegoat, while, on the other hand, Basil of Ancyra and other Semiarians were deposed and banished as insubordinate.<sup>l</sup> It was ordered that the creed of Rimini should be signed everywhere, and all who refused compliance were treated with severity.<sup>m</sup>

Macedonius, bishop of Constantinople, had rendered himself obnoxious to the Acacian party by showing an inclination towards the Semiarians.<sup>n</sup> It was therefore resolved to get rid of him; and in Sept. 360. order to his removal, advantage was taken of the emperor's displeasure, which had been justly excited by the bishop's violent proceedings,<sup>o</sup> and was now swelled by a fresh offence. As the church in which the body of the great Constantine had been deposited—hastily and unsubstantially erected, like the buildings of the new capital in general<sup>p</sup>—was already likely to fall, Macedonius removed the coffin to another church; and Constantius was irritated, both by his presuming to take such a step without the imperial permission, and because the factions of Constantinople had made the removal the occasion for a serious disturbance.<sup>q</sup> The bishop was therefore deposed on various charges of misconduct (for the Acacians, out of fear lest the emperor's sympathy

<sup>k</sup> Hil. c. Const. 15; Schröckh, vi. 164; Neand. iv. 70.

<sup>l</sup> Hard. i. 724-8; Soz. iv. 24; Theod. ii. 27. For the later history of Aëtius and Eunomius see Philostorg. iv. 12, v. 3, vii. 6, etc., and the article *Aëtius* in Herzog.

<sup>m</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. 23-4; Kaye, 130-1.

<sup>n</sup> Philostorg. iv. 9.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 316.

<sup>p</sup> Zosim. ii. 32; Hope on Architecture, 113.

<sup>q</sup> Soc. ii. 38; Soz. iv. 21.

should be excited, were careful to avoid the question of doctrine in their proceedings against the Semiarrians); and Eudoxius of Antioch was appointed his successor,<sup>r</sup> while the bishoprick of Antioch was bestowed by a council on Meletius, formerly bishop of Sebaste, a man of high reputation, who had until then been

A.D. 361. reckoned among the Arian party.<sup>s</sup> Meletius, it is said, on taking possession of his new see, at first confined his preaching to practical subjects; but when he had thus gained some hold on his flock, he began openly to teach the Nicene doctrine.<sup>t</sup> For this the council, which was still sitting,<sup>u</sup> deposed and banished him within thirty days after his installation, and in his room appointed Euzoius, formerly a deacon of Alexandria, who had been the associate of Arius in the early stages of the heresy.<sup>x</sup> Ever since the deprivation of Eustathius, an orthodox party had been kept up within the church of Antioch, notwithstanding the Arianism of the bishops. This party now formed a separate communion, which regarded Meletius as its head; but the old Eustathians, who had throughout stood aloof, refused to communicate with them, on the ground that Meletius had received his appointment from Arians, and that his followers had been baptized into heresy.<sup>y</sup>

The council of Antioch set forth an undisguisedly anomœan creed, declaring the Son to have been created

<sup>r</sup> Soc. ii. 42-3.

<sup>s</sup> Epiph. lxxiii. 35; Soz. iv. 28; Tillem. vi. 517-19. It is a high testimony to the character of Meletius, that neither his orthodox nor his Arian opponents ever bring against him any of those moral imputations with which all parties were accustomed to assail their adversaries. Walch, iv. 429.

<sup>t</sup> Soc. ii. 44. Theodoret (ii. 31) tells the story differently, and its truth is questioned by Tillemont (viii. 346 and

note). See Epiph. lxxiii. 28; Philostorg. v. 5; Walch, iv. 432-3; Möhler, ii. 216; Kaye, 139.

<sup>u</sup> Pagi (v. 12-13), says that there were two councils within a very short time; that Constantius was not at that which appointed Meletius, but was probably at that which deposed him.

<sup>x</sup> See p. 296; Walch, iv. 435-8.

<sup>y</sup> Soc. ii. 44. According to some writers, Eustathius was still alive. See p. 297

out of nothing, and to be unlike the Father both in substance and in will.<sup>2</sup> St. Athanasius reckons this as the eleventh creed to which the variations of Arianism had given birth:<sup>a</sup> Tillemont makes it the eighteenth.<sup>b</sup> Amidst such a continual manufacture of new standards of doctrine, it was no wonder that the heathens derided the Christians as having still to learn in what their faith consisted.<sup>c</sup>

The reign of Constantius was now near its end. The Cæsar Julian had been proclaimed Augustus by his troops in Gaul, and had advanced far towards the eastern capital. Constantius set out to meet him, but was arrested by illness at Mopsucrenæ, in Cilicia, where he died on the 3rd of November 361, at the age of forty-four, and in the twenty-fifth year of his reign. A short time before his death, but whether at Antioch or at Mopsucrenæ is uncertain, he was baptized by the Arian bishop of Antioch.<sup>d</sup>

## CHAPTER III.

### JULIAN.

A.D. 361-363.

I. IMMEDIATELY after the death of the great Constantine, the soldiery at Constantinople committed a massacre among the princes of his house. With the exception of his three sons—of whom

A.D. 337.

<sup>2</sup> Soc. ii. 45.

<sup>a</sup> De Synodis, 23-31.

<sup>b</sup> Tillem. vi. 521-2. See Petav. de Trin. i. 9; Kaye, 132-5.

Ath. de Synodis, 2.

Ib. 31; Philostorg. vi. 5; Chron.

Pauch. A.D. 361; Tillem. Emp. iv. 465-6, 691.

two were at a distance, while Constantius was even supposed to have instigated the murderers<sup>a</sup>—the only survivors of the imperial family were two children of the late emperor's half-brother, Julius Constantius, who himself had been one of the victims. Gallus was spared because his sickly constitution seemed to preclude the apprehension of future danger from him; his half-brother Julian, who was only six years of age, is said to have been saved and concealed in a church by Mark, bishop of Arethusa.<sup>b</sup>

The early education of these brothers was superintended by Eusebius of Nicomedia, who was distantly related to the younger prince's mother.<sup>c</sup> When Julian had reached the age of fifteen, they were removed to Macellæ, near Cæsarea, in Cappadocia. They lived in the palace of the old Cappadocian kings, and were treated in a manner suitable to their rank, yet were kept in a seclusion which had the nature of imprisonment. They were trained in a strict routine of religious observances; they were even admitted into the order of readers, and officiated in the service of the church.<sup>d</sup> After five years had been thus spent by the young princes, the attention of Constantius was especially directed to them by the circumstance that the murder of Constans had left them the only male heirs of the imperial family. Gallus was appointed Cæsar,

<sup>a</sup> Socrates (ii. 5) says that Constantius did not give the order, but also did not prevent the massacre. See Tillem. *Emp.* iv. 314; Gibbon, ii. 78, 103. M. de Beugnot (i. 131-6) thinks that it was an outbreak of paganism. Niebuhr (*Vortr.* ed. Isler, iii. 303) says that we are in the dark as to the matter, and that Constantius, who was obnoxious both to catholics and to pagans, has probably been too unfavourably represented

<sup>b</sup> Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. 91; Soc. iii. 1; Soz. v. 1; Gibbon, ii. 103, 316. Julian was born Nov. 6, 331 or 332. Gibbon, ii. 270.

<sup>c</sup> Amm. Marc. xxii. 9.

<sup>d</sup> Julian. *ad Athenienses*, p. 271, ed. Spanheim, Lips. 1696; Greg. Naz. *Orat.* iv. 23; Soz. v. 1; Gibbon, ii. 285-6. Gregory of Nazianzum highly extols Constantius for his kindness towards the young princes. 22, 35, seqq



was married to a widowed daughter of the great Constantine, and was established at Antioch, while his brother was allowed to study at <sup>A.D. 351.</sup> Constantinople. But as the popularity which Julian gained there excited the emperor's jealousy, he was soon ordered to Nicomedia, where he endeavoured to disarm the suspicions of Constantius by shaving his head and living like a monk.<sup>e</sup> In the end of the year 354, Gallus, who had displayed both violence and incapacity in his new elevation, was removed from his government, and was put to death by order of Constantius.<sup>f</sup> At the same time Julian was summoned from Ionia to the court at Milan, where he was detained in a state of suspense for seven months; but at length, through the influence of the empress Eusebia, who steadily befriended him,<sup>g</sup> he obtained leave to attend the schools of Athens.<sup>h</sup>

The Persians on the east, and the barbarian nations on the north, obliged Constantine to seek <sup>A.D. 355.</sup> for assistance in the government of the <sup>360.</sup> empire. Julian was therefore declared Cæsar in November 355. He received in marriage the hand of the emperor's sister Helena, and at the suggestion of Eusebia, who represented him as a harmless, studious youth, who would either bring credit to the emperor by success, or would deliver him from uneasiness by meeting with death,<sup>i</sup> he was sent to undertake the government of Gaul. Although his life had hitherto been that of a student, he soon distinguished himself by his ability both in war and in civil administration.<sup>k</sup> But his relations with Constantius were of no friendly kind: the emperor openly decried and ridiculed him, thwarted and crippled

<sup>e</sup> Soz. v. 1; Br glië, iii. 211, 3-6.

<sup>f</sup> Amm. Marcell. xiv. 1, 7, 11.

<sup>g</sup> Jul. ad Athen. pp. 273-6. But she opposed his elevation to the Cæsarship. Amm. Marc. xv. 8.

<sup>h</sup> Amm. Marc. xiv. 2.

<sup>i</sup> Zosim. iii. 1; Eunap. Vita Maximij, p. 476, ed. Boissonade, Par. 1849.

<sup>k</sup> Zosim. xvi. 1, seqq.; Gibbon, ii. 110-13.

him in his administration, and assumed the credit of his victories.<sup>1</sup> The army murmured because its commander was not furnished with the means of bestowing the usual donatives ;<sup>m</sup> and this discontent was at length swollen to a height by an order which Julian received when in winter-quarters at Paris,<sup>n</sup> in April 360. On being informed that their general was required to despatch the strength of his troops to the Persian frontier, the soldiers rose in mutiny ; and, notwithstanding a show of resistance to their wishes, which was perhaps not wholly sincere, the Cæsar was hailed as Augustus, was raised aloft on a buckler, and was crowned with a circlet formed of the chain by which the standard-bearers<sup>o</sup> of the legions were distinguished.<sup>p</sup> Eusebia and Helena, whose mediation might have prevented a breach between the imperial kinsmen, were both lately dead. Julian's proposals for a division of the empire were scornfully rejected ; and, after some fruitless negotiation, he resolved to march against Constantius.<sup>q</sup> Carrying out a brilliant conception with an energy which triumphed over all difficulties, he penetrated through the Black Forest to the Danube, Nov. 3, embarked his army on the great river, and 361. landed at a point within a few miles of Sir-  
mium.<sup>r</sup> He had already become master of almost all the west, when the death of Constantius saved the empire from the miseries of a civil war.

The policy of Constantius towards paganism had been, on the whole, a continuation of his father's. Laws are

<sup>1</sup> Jul. ad Athen. pp. 277-83 ; Amm. Marc. xvii. 9-10 ; Gibbon, ii. 129-30, 251. Niebuhr, however, refers the measures of jealousy to court intrigues, of which he supposes Constantius probably innocent. Vortr. iii. 307.

<sup>m</sup> Amm. Marc. xvii. 9.

<sup>n</sup> For a description of Paris, see

Julian's 'Misopogon,' p. 340. Zosimus styles it a *πολύχρη* of Germany. iii. 9.

<sup>o</sup> "Draconarii." See Ducange, s. v.

<sup>p</sup> Amm. Marc. xx. 4-5 ; Niebuhr, iii. 308.

<sup>q</sup> Zosim. iii. 2.

<sup>r</sup> Jul. ad Ath. 284-6 ; Amm. Marc. x. 8 ; xxi. 9-15 ; Gibbon, ii. 251-66.

found which forbid sacrifice and idolatry even on pain of death;<sup>s</sup> and under Julian the pagan orators complained of severities exercised against their religion in the late reign.<sup>t</sup> It is, however, certain that the more rigorous laws, even if they were actually published at the time, were not generally acted on.<sup>u</sup> Paganism was still largely cherished, especially among the aristocracy of the older capital, among the philosophical and literary class, and among the peasantry.<sup>x</sup> Its rites appear to have been freely practised, even by persons in authority.<sup>y</sup> The first Christian emperor was, like his predecessors, enrolled among the gods. Constantius retained the style of Pontifex Maximus; on his visit to Rome in 357, he showed respect to the old religion, and even made appointments to priestly offices;<sup>z</sup> and although he was unremitting in his hostility to the arts of astrology and divination, it was on account of their dangerous political character.<sup>a</sup> Some temples were given up for Christian purposes, or were bestowed on favourites of the court; but there were enactments against destroying temples and defacing heathen monuments.<sup>b</sup> The doctrinal controversies of the time diverted the attention of the Christians from paganism, while they also rendered each party unwilling to provoke the multitude which was without the church.<sup>c</sup> It was in vain that some of the more

<sup>s</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 4. 6. See Broglie, iii. 365-6.

<sup>t</sup> Soz. iii. 17; Pagi in Baron. iv. 401; Schröckh, vi. 8-10; Beugnot, i. 145.

<sup>u</sup> Gibbon, ii. 246-7; Beugnot, i. 141-2.

<sup>x</sup> Beugnot, i. 151. The name of *pagan*, which I have sometimes used by way of anticipation, began probably to be applied in a religious sense about this time, when the strength of the old religion was in the *pagi* or villages. The first *legal* use of it is by Valentinian I., A.D. 368. Cod. Theod. XVI

ii. 18; Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. t. iv. 250; Ducange, s. v. *Pagani*; Gibbon, ii. 248.

<sup>y</sup> See the inscriptions in Beugnot, i. 152-4.

<sup>z</sup> Symmachus, ap. Ambros. ii. 968; Beugnot, i. 164; Giesel. I. ii. 11.

<sup>a</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvi. 4-6; Pagi, iv. 557; Beugnot, i. 142-3.

<sup>b</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvii. 1-4; XVI. x. 3; Baron. 340. 45; Beugnot, i. 136-8, 142.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, ii. 248; Schröckh, vi. 9; Neand. iii. 44-5.

intemperate Christian writers among whom Firmicus Maternus<sup>d</sup> is the most noted, attempted to urge the government to more vigorous measures for the suppression of idolatry.<sup>e</sup>

Before setting out on his expedition, Julian, although he still kept up the outward appearance of Christianity, placed himself under the guardianship of the "Immortal Gods," and propitiated them with copious sacrifices.<sup>f</sup> Even after having advanced as far as Vienne, he celebrated the festival of the Epiphany;<sup>g</sup> but before reaching Thrace, he threw off all disguise, and openly professed himself a pagan.<sup>h</sup> It is not difficult to understand the motives of this defection, on account of which the epithet *apostate* has become the usual accompaniment of his name. His Christian training, with its formal and constrained devotion, had been so conducted that it could hardly have failed to alienate a mind like his—quick, curious, restless, and vain. His desire of knowledge had been thwarted in its direction; in his earlier years he had been forbidden to seek instruction from those heathens who were most celebrated as professors of rhetoric;<sup>i</sup> and the prohibition had lent a charm to their opinions. Filled with an enthusiastic admiration for the heroes and sages of heathenism, he was unable to understand the dignity of Christian meekness and endurance;<sup>k</sup> and, moreover, he had come to estimate the system in which he had been educated by the imperfections of those around him, while heathenism appeared to him in ideal brightness, as embodied in the lives of its worthies—as connected with

<sup>d</sup> See, for example, his work, 'De Errore profanarum Religionum,' cc. 17, 29, 30. Nothing is known of his life; Bp. Münster dates the work about 348. Patrol. xii. 974.

<sup>e</sup> Neand. iii. 48-9; Beugnot, i. 148; Giesel. I. ii. 10, 316. See Broglie, iii. 126, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> Amm. Marc. xxi. 1; xxii. 1; Jul. ad Athen. 286.

<sup>g</sup> Amm. Marc. xxi. 2.

<sup>h</sup> Jul. ad Athen. pp. 286-7 Gibbon, ii. 261. See Broglie, iv. 101.

<sup>i</sup> Liban. Orat. x., t. ii. 263.

<sup>k</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. 71-2; Neander's 'Julian,' transl. by Cox, 61.

literature, philosophy, and art.<sup>1</sup> The eyes of the pagans had early been fixed on him as the hope of their religion. He was courted by philosophers and rhetoricians, and in all his changes of residence he was handed over by one of them to another. These teachers not only entangled his mind in their speculations, but practised on it by the proscribed arts of theurgy and divination, flattering him with the idea of one day becoming master of the empire. At Ephesus, in his twentieth year, he was formally initiated into paganism by Maximus, a philosopher who had gained a powerful influence over him; and during his stay at Athens he was admitted to the Eleusinian mysteries. But the secret of his apostasy was carefully kept until his assumption of the imperial title rendered a longer hypocrisy needless.<sup>m</sup>

Julian arrived at Constantinople on the 11th of December 361, and left it in the middle of the following May. He reached Antioch in the end of June 362, and remained there until March 5, 363, when he set out on his fatal expedition into Persia.<sup>n</sup> Thus the greater part of his short reign was spent in two cities especially unfavourable to his religion; for Constantinople had never until this time been polluted by public sacrifice, and at Antioch—although the inhabitants were too commonly licentious, luxurious, and passionately fond of frivolous diversions<sup>o</sup>—Christianity was generally professed, so that there were only a few aged people who looked back with regret to the days when paganism had been the national creed.<sup>p</sup> The utter decay of the old religion in the Syrian

Cyrril. Alex. adv. Jul. cc. vi.-vii.

<sup>m</sup> Eunap. Vita Maximi, pp. 474-5, ed. Boissonade, Par. 1849; Amm. Marc. xix. 2; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 31, 43-4; Soc. iii. 1; Gibbon, ii. 291-4; Niebuhr, ed. Isler, iii. 306, 309; Neand. iii. 50-6; vi. 371-2; Broglie, iii. 277, seqq.

On the magical practices and superstitions then in vogue among the philosophic party, see Broglie, iii. 151-75.

<sup>n</sup> Gibbon, ii. 269, 337; Clinton.

<sup>o</sup> See Julian's 'Misopogon,' *passim*; Zosim. iii. 11.

<sup>p</sup> Niebuhr, ed. Isler, iii. 311.

capital may in some measure be estimated from a story which is told by the emperor himself—that when, after having restored the temple of Daphne, near the city, he repaired to it on the day of a great local festival, he found, instead of the splendid ceremonial and the crowd of worshippers which he had expected, that only a single old priest was in attendance, with no better sacrifice than a goose, which the poor man had been obliged to provide at his own cost.<sup>q</sup>

Julian's paganism was very unlike the old political religion of Rome; it was eclectic, philosophical, enthusiastic, and more akin to gnosticism than even to the theology of the ancient Greeks.<sup>r</sup> He believed in one supreme God, whom he identified with the Mithra or sun-god of oriental worship. Under this deity he acknowledged others—the tutelaries of nations, sciences, and the like. He believed the world to be eternal, and from the diversity of national character he argued against the common origin of mankind.<sup>s</sup> The worship of images was defended by him on philosophical grounds, very remote from the popular belief.<sup>t</sup> The convert's zeal for the old religion far outstripped that of its hereditary professors. A pagan historian of the time describes him as rather superstitious than properly religious;<sup>u</sup> and his heathen subjects in general looked with surprise and disrespect on the profusion of his costly sacrifices, and on the share which he himself took in them—performing even the coarsest and most repulsive functions.<sup>x</sup> In other respects, too, his vanity displayed itself in an ostentatious disregard of

<sup>q</sup> Misopog. 362. The temple had before been turned into a church of St. Babylas. Rufin. i. 35; Chrysost. t. ii. Hom. de S. Bab. i. 2; ii. 24, seqq.

<sup>r</sup> Beugnot, i. 215; Niebuhr, iii. 310.

<sup>s</sup> Jul. Orat. iv., ap. Cyrill. pp. 116,

143, &c.

<sup>t</sup> Julian, pp. 92, 294-5.

<sup>u</sup> "Superstitiosus, potius quam sacrorum legitimus observator, innumeras sine parcimonia pecudes mactans; ut aestimaretur, si revertisset de Parthis, boves jam defuturos." Amm. Marcell. xxv. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Ib. xxii. 12-13; Gibbon, ii. 297 Beugnot, i. 196-7



the form and dignity which are usually associated with sovereign power. In his appearance and habits he affected a cynical roughness, which drew on him the satire of the wits of Antioch; and he condescended to reply to their jests and ballads by a book in defence of his beard.<sup>y</sup> He reformed the luxury of the court with an unwise and precipitate severity; he disbanded the host of eunuchs and parasites who had been attached to it during the late reign, and replaced them by philosophers and professors of divination, many of whom proved unable to bear with equanimity the honours and employments which were bestowed on them.<sup>z</sup>

The religious policy of the last two reigns was now reversed. The immunities and endowments which had been bestowed on the clergy were transferred to the heathen priesthood; but whereas Constantine, in restoring church-property to the rightful owners after the persecution, had indemnified the existing holders at the expense of the state,<sup>a</sup> Julian ordered that Christians who had been concerned in the destruction of temples should rebuild them at their own cost, and that money received from property which had formerly belonged to the pagan religious establishment should be refunded. Even if the means of such restitution had been in their hands, the restoration of temples (which would in many cases have involved the demolition of churches erected on their sites) was intolerable to the consciences of the Christians; and in consequence of the edict many of the clergy were subjected to tortures, imprisonment, and death.<sup>b</sup> The case

<sup>y</sup> The 'Misopogon.' See Jul. pp. 338, seqq., 364.

<sup>z</sup> Jul. ad Athen. pp. 273-4; Amm. Marc. xxii. 3-4; Soc. iii. 1; Soz. v. 3; Gibbon, ii. 273-4, 335; Milman, iii. 78-9, 104; Broglie, iii. 141-2, 148-51. Gregory of Nazianzum can find nothing to commend in him, except that, after

having invited many of his old Asiatic acquaintances to his court, he disappointed the hopes of greatness which they had conceived. Orat. v. 20.

<sup>a</sup> See p. 213.

<sup>b</sup> Soz. v. 5; Philostorg: vii. 4; Neand. iii. 66.

of Mark, bishop of Arethusa, is especially noted. "The magistrates," says Gibbon, "required the full value of a temple which had been destroyed; but as they were satisfied of his poverty, they desired only to bend his inflexible spirit to the promise of the slightest compensation. They apprehended the aged prelate, they inhumanly scourged him, they tore his beard; and his naked body, anointed with honey, was suspended in a net between heaven and earth, and exposed to the stings of insects and the rays of a Syrian sun. From this lofty station Mark still persisted to glory in his crime, and to insult the impotent rage of his persecutors. He was at length rescued from their hands; Julian spared his life; but if the bishop of Arethusa had saved the infancy of Julian, posterity will condemn the ingratitude, instead of praising the clemency of the emperor."<sup>c</sup>

Julian knew from the experience of former times that the employment of force against Christianity, far from suppressing it, had tended to its advancement. He was unwilling to excite the zeal of the Christians by the opportunity of martyrdom; he was unwilling to sully his own reputation by harsh measures; he wished to gain credit by a display of toleration which might contrast with the persecutions of Constantius.<sup>d</sup> The stories of martyrdoms which are referred to this reign are probably for the most part fabulous; and although much of oppression and outrage was committed against the Christians,<sup>e</sup> it does not appear that the emperor was directly concerned in such acts. It is, too, very evident that the Christians sometimes provoked the ruling party by needlessly offen-

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, ii. 316; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 88-91; Soz. v. 5, 10; Theod. iii. 7.

<sup>d</sup> Jul. Epp. 7, 43, 52; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 57-8, 61; Rufinus, H. E. 32; Soz. v. 4. M. de Beugnot's attempt to show that the changes ef-

fected or contemplated by Julian were comparatively slight, appears unsuccessful.

<sup>e</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 86, seqq.; v. 29; Philostorg. vii. 1-4. See Broglie pt. ii. c. 7.

sive conduct, and that their complaints are not always free from exaggeration.<sup>f</sup> But although Julian declared that argument and persuasion were the only means to be employed for the furtherance of his opinions, he allowed proceedings of a very different kind. He refused justice to the Christians with a shameless partiality, and made the refusal offensive by sarcasm. Thus when the Arian bishop George was murdered by the pagans of Alexandria, he took no further notice of the deed than by very slightly reproving them.<sup>g</sup> In consequence of a disturbance between the orthodox and the Valentinians of Edessa, he seized on the property of the Edessan church, and distributed it among his soldiers—telling the Christians that their wealth would no longer be a hindrance to their attaining the kingdom of heaven.<sup>h</sup> When Christians appealed to him against the illegal violence of governors or of mobs, he reminded them that their religion enjoined on them the duty of patience under wrong. He deprived them of civil and military employments, and excluded them from the courts of law; and he alleged as his reason that the gospel forbids worldly ambition, bloodshed, and litigation.<sup>i</sup> Although he professed to consider the devotion of the heart essential in religion,<sup>k</sup> he used artifices to entrap his Christian subjects into outward, and even unconscious, acts of homage to the gods; thus he surrounded his own picture with heathen figures and emblems, so that the usual obeisance to it should involve an appearance of idolatry.<sup>l</sup> In like manner, on the occasion of a donative, he required his soldiers to cast a few grains of incense into the fire—representing this as merely an ancient custom, without

<sup>f</sup> See Soc. iii. 15; Gibbon, ii. 327-8; Giesel. I. ii. 20.

<sup>g</sup> Ep. 10; Amm. Marc. xxii. 11.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. 43.

Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 96-7; Soc.

iii. 2, 13-14; Gibbon, ii. 315, 320, 323; Niebuhr, iii. 310.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 52, p. 436.

<sup>l</sup> Greg. Naz. iv. 81.

any explanation of the import which he attached to it as an act of worship.<sup>m</sup>

By a strange exercise of tyranny, Julian issued an edict that no "Galilean"—for thus he required by law that the Christians should be styled<sup>n</sup>—should become a teacher of classical literature. By way of giving a reason for this order, he declared that the Greek language belonged to his own party,<sup>o</sup> and denounced the immorality and covetousness of persons who taught a system which they themselves did not believe;<sup>p</sup> but, as it seems incredible that the emperor could have seriously confounded the religion with the literature of Greece, other motives have been conjectured—such as jealousy of the eminence which some Christian rhetoricians had acquired, and a wish to deprive the Christians of the controversial advantages which they might derive from an acquaintance with the absurdities of the pagan mythology.<sup>q</sup> It has been said that he went so far as to prohibit "Galileans" even to attend the public schools,<sup>r</sup> or to study the classical writers—overlooking the Divine element of the gospel, ascribing its success to human culture, and thinking to defeat it by reducing its professors to the condition of an illiterate sect. This, however, appears to be a mistake, except in so far as the law against teaching must also have operated as a bar to learning; for many of those who in other times would have resorted to pagan masters for instruction in secular studies, must have felt themselves excluded from their schools, now that an attack was made on the Christian teachers, and

<sup>m</sup> Greg. Naz. 82-3; Rufin. i. 32; Baron. 362. 31-7; Schröckh, vi. 323; Neand. iii. 68.

<sup>n</sup> Greg. Naz. iv. 76.

<sup>o</sup> Ib. 102.

<sup>p</sup> Jul. Ep. 42, ap. Cyrill. i. vii. p.

229.

<sup>q</sup> Greg. Naz. iv. 5-6, 101, seqq.:

Soc. iii. 12; Soz. v. 18; Theod. iii. 8. Ullmann's 'Gregory of Nazianzum,' by Cox, 88-90; Neand. 'Julian,' 131-5; Ch. Hist. iii. 80; Giesel. I. ii. 19; Beugnot, i. 192-4; Milman, iii. 82-5. Socrates (loc. cit.) well defends the Christian use of heathen literature.

<sup>r</sup> Rufin. i. 32.

that classical learning was to be used as a temptation to apostasy.<sup>8</sup> But in order that the benefits of classical study should not be wholly lost to Christian youth, Apollinarius of Laodicea and others are said to have provided an ingenious substitute for the forbidden textbooks by clothing the Scripture history in the forms of Greek composition—such as epic poetry, drama, and Platonic dialogue.<sup>†</sup>

While the emperor thus in many ways exerted himself against the gospel, he yet paid it the remarkable tribute of attempting to reform paganism by borrowing from Christian institutions. He pointed to the Christians as distinguished by their obedience to the rules of their religion.<sup>‡</sup> He admonished the heathen priests to adopt a stricter life than that which had been usual among their class—charging them to abstain from secular business and amusements; to be charitable to the poor; to take care that their wives and families should not be Christians; to be diligent in study, and to abstain from the perusal of unedifying books. He attempted to imitate the system of episcopal superintendence and that of commendatory letters, the monastic orders, the penitential discipline, the arrangement of churches, the liturgy, the hours of prayer, the expositions of religious doctrine by preaching, the care of the poor and distressed, of the sick and of the dead.<sup>×</sup>

<sup>8</sup> See Pagi, v. 142-3; Tillem. vii. 717-19; Warburton's 'Julian,' 26-7; Gibbon, ii. 313; Schröckh, vi. 318; Neand. iii. 80.

<sup>†</sup> Soc. iii. 16; Soz. v. 18; Vit. Greg. Naz. (by a monk named Gregory, in vol. i. of the Benedictine edition), 137. Schröckh (xiii. 220) points out that there must be some exaggeration as to the amount of these works—Julian's edict having been in force for so very short a period that there was no time for the formation of a large body of

such literature. The only extant specimens of it are a tragedy entitled 'Christ suffering,' printed among the works of Gregory Nazianzen, and a poetical version of the Psalms, ascribed to Apollinarius. Smith's Dict. of Biography, art. *Apollinaris*.

<sup>‡</sup> Ep. 63, p. 453.

<sup>×</sup> Ep. 49; Fragm. pp. 300-5; Greg. Naz. Orat. iv. 111; Soz. v. 16. M. de Beugnot (i. 203-4) denies the truth of these statements—apparently for no other than theoretical reasons.

The edict of Hadrian, which forbade the Jews to approach their holy city,<sup>y</sup> was still in force ; and the legislation of Constantine and his son had pressed severely upon them. Julian was favourably disposed towards their religion ; he respected it as an ancient national faith, although he considered it to be wrong in representing its God as the only deity ; and the Mosaic sacrifices accorded with his ideas as to outward worship.<sup>z</sup> It is said that he summoned some of the most eminent Jews into his presence, and asked why they did not offer sacrifices according to their lawgiver's command. On their answering that it was not lawful to sacrifice except in the temple of Jerusalem, of which they had been long deprived, the emperor gave them leave to rebuild the temple, and appointed one of his own officers to superintend the work. The dispersed Jews assembled from all quarters, in eagerness to forward the undertaking by their labour and their hoarded wealth.<sup>a</sup> Women gave their ornaments towards the cost, and themselves carried burdens of earth in their silken dresses ; even tools of silver are said to have been used in the work. The long-depressed people were loud in proclaiming their expectations of a triumphant restoration, when the attempt was terribly defeated. The newly-laid foundations were overthrown by an earthquake ; balls of fire burst forth from the ground, scorching and killing many of the workmen ; their tools were melted by lightning ; and it is added by some writers that the figure of a cross surrounded by a circle appeared in the sky, and that garments and bodies were marked with crosses, which it was impossible to efface. The truth of some of these phenomena is attested by the heathen Ammianus Mar-

<sup>y</sup> See p. 29.

<sup>z</sup> Gibbon, ii. 304-7 ; Neander's ' Julian,' 101-2.

<sup>a</sup> In the beginning of A.D. 363

(Warburton, 54). St. Chrysostom blames the Jews for their compliance with Julian. In *Matth. Hom.* 43, 581, ed. Field.



cellinus, as well as by Christian writers, and the story, in its essential parts, is broadly distinguishable in character from the tales of contemporary miracles in general.<sup>b</sup> As the rebuilding was avowedly undertaken in defiance of the Christian religion—as its success would have falsified the evidence borne to the gospel by those words of Scripture which had declared that Judaism was passed away, and that the temple should be desolate—we may reverently believe that the occasion was one on which some special exertion of the Divine power might probably be put forth. It will, however, remain a question how much of the story ought to be regarded as fabulous embellishment; how far the occurrences which produced the impression of miracle may have been the result of ordinary physical causes, and how far there was a mixture of that which is more properly to be styled miraculous.<sup>c</sup>

Julian spent the long winter evenings of 362-3 in composing an elaborate attack on Christianity, which he continued and finished after setting out on his expedition into Persia.<sup>d</sup> He had intended, on his return, to resume the building of the Jewish temple.<sup>e</sup> What his policy might have been in other respects, if his life had been prolonged, can only be conjectured; but, as his enmity against the Christians had evidently increased, it is probable that the course which he had hitherto pursued

<sup>b</sup> Amm. Marc. xxii. 1; Greg. Naz. Orat. v. 4-7; Rufin. i. 37-9; Philostorg. vii. 9; Chrysost. adv. Judæos. vi. 11 (t. i.); Soc. iii. 20; Soz. v. 22; Theod. iii. 20.

<sup>c</sup> See Warburton's 'Julian'; and Newman's Essay on Miracles, 165-75. Dr. Newman is able in this case to conduct his argument without the subtleties which mark other parts of the same essay. See also Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. 622; Schröckh, vi. 376-7; Guizot and Milman in Gibbon, ii. 310-

11; Neand. iii. 71; Giesel. I. ii. 21; Guericke, i. 355. It has been supposed that some portions of Julian's work may yet be distinguished among the ruins of the Temple. See Fergusson in Smith's Biblical Dictionary, i. 1033.

<sup>d</sup> Neand. iii. 120; Milman, iii. 103. It consisted of seven books. Fragments are preserved in the answer by Cyril of Alexandria. See Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. vi. 738-9.

<sup>e</sup> Ep. 25.

with so little success would have been exchanged for a system of undisguised persecution.<sup>f</sup> His death, in con-

sequence of a wound received in a nocturnal  
June 27, 363. skirmish,<sup>g</sup> was hailed by the Christians with joy. Prophecies and visions of his end had before been current among them.<sup>h</sup> By some it was supposed that he had received his death-wound from an angel. Sozomen, in reporting the groundless insinuation of Libanius,<sup>i</sup> that it was inflicted not by a Persian but by a Christian, so far forgets his own Christianity as to argue that such an act may be laudably done for the cause of God and religion.<sup>k</sup>

II. We now turn to the internal history of the church

Julian on his accession recalled all who had been  
banished on account of religion. In this  
A.D. 362. measure his object was twofold—to gain the praise of liberality, and at the same time to damage the Christian cause by giving free scope to the dissensions of the various parties.<sup>l</sup> But in the latter hope he was disappointed. The Arians, when deprived of the imperial support, lost all spirit and vigour; and the common danger from the ascendancy of paganism moderated the controversies which had raged so long and so fiercely.<sup>m</sup>

Athanasius, when expelled from Alexandria in 356, had withdrawn into the deserts of Egypt. Among his

<sup>f</sup> Neand. iii. 94.

<sup>g</sup> Amm. Marc. xxv. 3.

<sup>h</sup> Soz. vi. 2; Theod. iii. 23-4; Chron. Pasch. A.D. 363. There were also heathen omens to the same effect. (Amm. Marc. xxiii. 1, 3; xxv. 2.) The Christians believed that Julian offered many young persons as victims in order to discover the future. (Soc. iii. 13; Tillem. Emp. iv. 527.) Schröckh (ib. 332-3) rejects these stories.

<sup>i</sup> Orat. x. (t. ii. 324, ed. Morel

Paris, 1627). See Gibbon, ii. 378.

<sup>k</sup> Soz. vi. 1-2. See Philostorg. vii. 15, with the remark of Photius; Fabric. Bibl. Gr. vi. 723. In the life of St. Macarius the Roman, it is said that Julian was killed by "Mercury, the martyr of Christ." Rosweyde, t. i. 416.

<sup>l</sup> Philostorg. vii. 41: "Nullas infestas hominibus bestias, ut sunt sibi ferales plerique Christianorum, expertus." Amm. Marcell. xxii. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Soc. iii. 11; Soz. v. 5; vi. 4.

faithful partisans, the monks, he found a refuge which enabled him to defy the enmity of Constantius, who attempted to arrest him, and exerted himself to prevent his reception in Ethiopia if he should flee into that newly-converted country.<sup>n</sup> During an exile A.D. 356-  
of six years. the bishop kept a watchful eye on 362.

all the fortunes of the church, and by seasonable writings combated the heresy which had driven him from his see.<sup>o</sup>

On receiving the tidings that Constantius was dead, the heathen populace of Alexandria murdered Dec. 24,  
the intrusive bishop, George, who had made 361.  
himself even more hateful to them than to the catholics.<sup>p</sup> Athanasius, on returning to resume his see, was received with triumphal pomp and festivity.<sup>q</sup> The churches were at once surrendered to him, so that the Arians, who had set up one Lucius as their bishop, could only meet in private houses.<sup>r</sup> Athanasius proceeded to assemble a council, which Lucifer of Cagliari and Eusebius of Vercelli, who had been released from banishment in the Thebaid, were invited to attend. Eusebius appeared, and the Sardinian bishop was represented by two of his deacons, while he himself repaired to Antioch, with a view of attempting to suppress the schism by which the church of that city had long been distracted.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Tillem. viii. 183. See below, c. vi. init.

<sup>o</sup> The story which is told, and which is so attractive to Gibbon's taste (ii. 234)—that Athanasius was entertained during all the time by a beautiful virgin (Soz. v. 6; Pallad. Hist. Lausiaca, 136)—is generally rejected as fabulous. (Tillem. viii. 698; Schröckh, xii. 147.) The idea of his having been present, incognito, at Rimini or Seleucia, or both places, while the councils were sitting, is a needless and improbable inference from some words of his tract on those councils. See Tillem. viii.

705; Schröckh, xii. 205; Newman on Ath. Orat. 73.

<sup>p</sup> Amm. Marc. xxii. 11; Epiphan. lxxvi. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. 26-9; Soc. iii. 2; Soz. v. 6-7; Kaye, 136-7. Sozomen says that he suddenly appeared by night in his cathedral, immediately after the death of Constantius—a manifest fable. Gibbon (ii. 324) dates his return on Feb. 21; Pagi (v. 103), in August.

<sup>r</sup> Schröckh, xii. 7; Kaye, 137.

<sup>s</sup> Soc. iii. 5; Walch, iii. 34<sup>2</sup>

The case of the clergy who had conformed to Arianism in the late reign was decided with that wise consideration for persons which in Athanasius always accompanied his zeal for the truth. It was enacted that those who had erred through simplicity or ignorance should be allowed to retain their positions on subscribing the Nicene creed; and that such as had taken a more active part on the Arian side should, on repentance, be admitted to communion, but should be deprived of ecclesiastical office.<sup>t</sup>

Another question which engaged the attention of the council, related to the use of certain theological terms. The words *ousia* and *hypostasis*<sup>u</sup> had in the beginning of the controversy been used by the orientals as equivalent; both had been translated in Latin by *substantia*, and had been understood by the Latins as signifying the *nature* of God. But in course of time a distinction had been introduced in the east, so that, while *ousia* continued to denote *nature*, *hypostasis* was used in the sense which we are accustomed to express by the term *person*; and this distinction was especially characteristic of such theologians as had come out of the Arian connexion to embrace the Nicene faith.<sup>x</sup> The Latins, then, hearing that three *hypostases* were maintained by some of the orientals, took alarm, as if the words signified three different grades of nature; while the other party insisted on the necessity of using the term *hypostasis* in the new sense—considering that the use of the Greek *prosopon*,<sup>y</sup> which answered to the Latin *persona*, savoured of Sabellianism, as expressing rather three manifestations of the

<sup>t</sup> Hard. i. 729, or Ath. Tom. ad Antiochenos, t. i. pp. 770-7; Rufin. i. 28.

<sup>u</sup> οὐσία, *essence*; ὑπόστασις, *subsistence*.

<sup>x</sup> Petav. de Trin. IV. i. 8. See on the whole subject, De Trin. IV. i.-iv.,

vii.; De Incarn. II.; Liddon, Bampton Lect. 33; also Append. iv. to Dr. Newman's 3rd edition, which differs somewhat from the common view.

<sup>y</sup> πρόσωπον, *character* or *person*, in the dramatic sense.

one Godhead than that distinction which is asserted in the catholic doctrine.<sup>z</sup> The council, under the guidance of Athanasius, who during his residence in the west had become acquainted with the meaning of Latin theological language, endeavoured to settle this dispute by ascertaining and explaining that the difference as to one or three *hypostases* was merely verbal; and by recommending that the Nicene creed should be adhered to, and that the terms in question should be avoided, except when opposition to particular heresies might render it necessary to use them.<sup>a</sup>

Eusebius and others proceeded from Alexandria to Antioch with a commission to mediate in the healing of the schism. But in the meantime Lucifer had rashly taken a step which tended to exasperate and prolong it, by consecrating Paulinus, a presbyter of the Eustathian party, in opposition to Meletius, who had just returned from exile.<sup>b</sup> Thus Antioch had three rival bishops—the Arian Euzoius, with the orthodox Meletius and Paulinus; and to these a fourth, of the Apollinarian sect,<sup>c</sup> was soon after added. In such circumstances it was impossible to enforce any ecclesiastical discipline, since offenders, if threatened with censure in one communion, found the others ready to welcome them as proselytes; and in the meanwhile the wide patriarchal jurisdiction of Antioch, with the authority which belonged to the third of Christian sees in the general affairs of the church, was in abeyance.<sup>d</sup>

Eusebius mildly expressed his regret at the ordination

<sup>z</sup> Sabellius himself admitted three *prosopa* in the sense to which the orientals objected. See above, p. 121.

<sup>a</sup> Hard. i. 733. See Hilar. de Synod. 68-71; Rufin. i. 28-9; Soc. iii. 7; Soz. v. 12; Baron. 362. 188-9; 372. 29-31; Möhler, ii. 237-8; Greg. Nazianz. Orat. xxi. 35-6; Hampden,

Bampt. Lect. 458; Newman, 390-6; Giesel. I. ii. 64; Kaye, 139.

<sup>b</sup> Rufin. i. 27; Soc. iii. 6; Soz. v. 12; Theod. iii. 5.

<sup>c</sup> See the end of next chapter.

<sup>d</sup> Tillem. x. 530; Möhler, ii. 249 Kaye, 141.

of Paulinus, and forthwith quitted Antioch. But the vehement Lucifer disavowed the act of his representatives who had signed the Alexandrian decrees; he broke off communion with all bishops who should accept those decrees, and, after returning to his own diocese in Sardinia, he founded a schism, on the principle that no one who had subscribed the creed of Rimini should be admitted to reconciliation.<sup>e</sup> This sect, which is not charged with any heretical doctrines, found a considerable number of adherents in Italy and Spain. It even set up a bishop at Rome; but Luciferianism became extinct in the beginning of the following century, if not earlier.<sup>f</sup>

The schism of Antioch continued. Meletius was supported by the eastern orthodox; Paulinus by Egypt and the west; and, notwithstanding the exertions of the Alexandrian council, the difference of usage as to the term *hypostasis* continued to be a badge of the parties respectively.<sup>g</sup>

Peace was established in the western church chiefly through the labours of Eusebius and of Hilary of Poitiers, who had been allowed to resume his bishoprick soon after the councils of Rimini and Seleucia, as the court partly thought it desirable even on such terms to remove so formidable an opponent to a distance from the principal scene of action.<sup>h</sup> The two bishops indefatigably exerted themselves for the re-establishment of orthodoxy on the terms of the Alexandrian synod, in

<sup>e</sup> Soc. iii. 9; Soz. v. 13; Tillem. vii. 521; Walch, iii. 350-3; Kaye, 142. It appears from St. Jerome's Dialogue against the Luciferians (c. 3) that Lucifer disallowed the ordination conferred by Arians, but acknowledged Arian baptism; whereas some of his followers rebaptized converts even from the church.

<sup>f</sup> Rufin. i. 309. See the 'Libellus' of the Luciferians Faustinus and Marcellinus, in Patrol. xiii.; Baron. 362. 221; 371. 127; Walch, iii. 370-1, Schröckh, vi. 209-17.

<sup>g</sup> Theod. v. 3, with Valois' note Walch, iv. 492-7; Newman, 397.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xii. 309-11.



which they obtained the concurrence of councils at Rome and elsewhere.<sup>i</sup>

The effects of Athanasius' labours after his return to Alexandria soon drew on him the notice of Julian, who knew and dreaded his energetic character; while the representations of "magi, philosophers, aruspices, and augurs," were not wanting to excite the emperor against him as the most dangerous enemy of paganism.<sup>k</sup> In the end of 362, Julian directed against him a special mandate, stating that Athanasius had lately presumed to baptize some Greek (*i.e.* heathen) ladies of high rank; and declaring that the edict by which exiles were allowed to return to their country had not been intended to restore them to their ecclesiastical offices—a distinction which appears to have been invented for the occasion, as it was not enforced in any other case. The Christians of Alexandria petitioned in favour of their bishop; but Julian was only the more exasperated. He styled Athanasius an "insignificant mannikin";<sup>l</sup> he told them that they were at liberty to make another bishop, but that so mischievous a person must not remain among them; and, whereas the former sentence had been limited to banishment from the city, it was now extended to all Egypt,<sup>m</sup> with an order that it should be immediately executed.<sup>n</sup> On hearing of the rescript, Athanasius said to his friends, "Let us withdraw; this is a little cloud which will soon pass over." He embarked on the Nile, and sailed up the stream, until, on being told that a vessel was in pursuit, he ordered the steersman of his boat to turn round, met the pursuers, who had not observed his movements, ingeniously baffled their

<sup>i</sup> Rufin. 30-1; Soc. iii. 10; Fleury, xv. 30; Tillem. vii. 455-8; Schröckh, xii. 14-15, 317-18; Newman, 383.

<sup>k</sup> Rufin. l. 33.

<sup>l</sup> ἄθροωπιςκος εὐτελής.

<sup>m</sup> It is even said that the emperor wished to kill him, and Möhler (ii. 240) is inclined to believe the story

<sup>n</sup> Jul. Epp. 6, 25, 51.

inquiries, and returned in safety to Alexandria. A renewal of the search, however, soon after compelled him to leave his place of concealment there, and he again found an asylum among the monks until he received the tidings of Julian's death.<sup>o</sup>

## CHAPTER IV.

### FROM THE DEATH OF JULIAN TO THE END OF THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL.

A.D. 363-381.

THE forced ascendancy of paganism ended with the life of its patron. On the following day Jovian, June 28, 363. a Christian, was chosen emperor. The army declared itself Christian; the labarum, which had been disused during the reign of Julian, was again displayed at its head;<sup>a</sup> the philosophers and soothsayers, who had basked in the favour of the late emperor, retired into obscurity.<sup>b</sup> Jovian, however, allowed full toleration to his pagan subjects;<sup>c</sup> and with respect to the divisions among Christians, he declared that he would molest no one on account of religion, but would love all who should study the church's peace.<sup>d</sup>

<sup>o</sup> Rufin. i. 34; Soc. iii. 13-14; Soz. v. 15; Theod. iii. 9. The emperor's death is said to have been revealed to him in the very hour when it took place, by Theodore, abbot of Tabenne. Athan. t. i. 869.

<sup>a</sup> Rufin. ii. 1; Soc. iii. 22; Tillem. Emp. iv. 579; Gibbon, ii. 380-2. M. de Beugnot (i. 222) denies La Bletterie's inference that the soldiers really had no religion; the army, he says,

was made up of Christians and pagans, and, as a whole, followed the religion of the emperor.

<sup>b</sup> Soc. iii. 24.

<sup>c</sup> It would seem, nevertheless, from the complaints of Libanius (Vita, p. 46; Orat. x. p. 327, t. ii. ed. Morel), that in this reign they suffered from the populace in some places. Tillem. Emp. iv. 585-7.

<sup>d</sup> Soc. iii. 25.

On his arrival at Antioch, after an ignominious, though necessary, accommodation with the Persians, and a disastrous retreat, the new emperor was beset by representatives of the various Christian parties, each hoping to gain him to its side.<sup>e</sup> His mind was, however, already decided in favour of the Nicene faith; he wrote to Athanasius, requesting instruction and advice, and inviting him to visit the court. The bishop complied, and by personal intercourse he gained an influence over Jovian which his enemies in vain attempted to disturb.<sup>f</sup> The Acacians, with their usual suppleness, resolved to conform to the spirit of the time. They attended a synod held by Meletius at Antioch, and signed the Nicene creed, evasively explaining *co-essential* as meaning "begotten of the Father's essence, and like the Father in essence."<sup>g</sup>

The reign of Jovian lasted somewhat less than eight months; he was found dead in his bed at Dadastana, in Bithynia, on February 17, 364.<sup>h</sup> On February 26 Valentinian was elected by the army as his successor, and a month later the new emperor associated with him his brother Valens, to whom he assigned the eastern division of the empire.<sup>i</sup> Valentinian was possessed of many great qualities. He vigorously and successfully defended the northern frontiers against the barbarians who were pressing on the empire; he was the author of wise and important regulations for its internal government.<sup>k</sup> But the justice on which he prided himself was relentlessly severe; the manner of its execution was often inhuman,

<sup>e</sup> For the petitions of the Arians of Alexandria, and their conference with Jovian, see Athan. i. 782.

See Athan. i. 778-9; ad. Jov. de Fide, ib. 780; Rufin. ii. 1; Soc. iii. 24; Soz. vi. 5; Theod. iv. 2. Athanasius, while at Antioch, communicated with Paulinus. Walch, iv. 447.

<sup>g</sup> Soc. iii. 25; Soz. vi. 4. St. Jerome says in his Chronicle (A.D. 367) that

they rejected both *homöusion* and *anomoion*, and took the middle term *homoiousion*. The truth seems to be that they interpreted *homoousion* as if it were *homoiousion*. Petav. de Trin. IV. vi. 4.

<sup>h</sup> Amm. Marc. xxv. 10.

<sup>i</sup> Tillem. Emp. v. 7, 20.

<sup>k</sup> Amm. Marc. xxx. 9; Gibbon, ii. 395-401.

and he was subject to violent fits of passion, by one of which his death was occasioned.<sup>1</sup> Valens, until elevated by his brother's favour, had been a person of little note. His capacity was inferior to that of Valentinian; he is described by Gibbon as "rude without vigour, and feeble without mildness."<sup>m</sup>

It is said that both the brothers had exposed themselves to danger by the profession of Christianity in the reign of Julian.<sup>n</sup> Valentinian, when raised to the throne, adhered to the Nicene faith;<sup>o</sup> but, warned by the ill-success of Constantius in enforcing conformity, he adopted a policy of general toleration, to which a severe law against the Manichæans is not to be regarded as an exception, since it was rather directed against the magical practices of which they were suspected, than against their erroneous opinions.<sup>p</sup> He invariably declined all interference in questions of doctrine, which he professed to leave to those who had been trained for the consideration of them.<sup>q</sup> He allowed Auxentius, an Arian, to retain the important see of Milan—whether deceived by the bishop's specious professions, which might have been enough to satisfy an uncritical and somewhat indifferent soldier, or swayed by the influence of the empress Justina, who was a zealous Arian.<sup>r</sup> But with this exception the western sees were, during Valentinian's reign, in the possession of orthodox bishops.

In the east it was otherwise. Valens is said to have been originally a catholic, and appears to have been alike

<sup>1</sup> Amm. Marc. xxvii. 7: xxix. 3; xxx. 6; Tillem. Emp. v. 14-15, 73-4; Broglie, v. 241, seqq.

<sup>m</sup> ii. 391. Comp. Amm. Marc. xxxi. 14; Broglie, v. 61-2.

<sup>n</sup> Rufin. ii. 2; Soz. vi. 6; Philostorg. vii. 7; Chron. Pasch. A.D. 369.

<sup>o</sup> Kaye, 146.

<sup>p</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI v. 3 f

See Godefroy's note.

<sup>q</sup> Soc. iv. 1; Soz. vi. 21.

<sup>r</sup> Hilar. adv. Auxentium (Patrol x.); Baron. 369. 36; Tillem. Emp. v. 11; Schröckh, xii. 22-3. M. de Broglie explains Valentinian's policy by jealousy of the ecclesiastical power. v. 9-12.

ignorant and careless of religion ; but he was won over to Arianism by his wife, who in 367, as he was about to set out for the Gothic war, persuaded him to receive baptism from Eudoxius of Constantinople. It is said that the bishop exacted of him an oath to persecute the catholics, and it is certain that the hostility which he had always shown towards them became from that time more bitter and more active.<sup>s</sup>

Macedonius, on his ejection from the see of Constantinople by the Acacians, had connected himself with the Semiarians, and, although he himself died soon after, the party thenceforth took its name from him.<sup>t</sup> The Macedonians had requested Jovian either to establish the "creed of the dedication," agreeably to the original and unbiassed decision of the council of Seleucia ; or, reverting to the condition in which things had stood before the meetings at Seleucia and Rimini, to summon a general synod, which should be free from all secular control.<sup>u</sup> They now obtained leave from A.D. 365.

Valens to hold a council at Lampsacus—the emperor supposing that they would agree with Eudoxius and the Acacians, who had by this time retracted their subscriptions to the Nicene creed.<sup>x</sup> The bishops who met at Lampsacus, however, took up the same position with the majority of the council of Seleucia. They signed the creed of the dedication, with the word *homoiousios*, which they declared to be necessary for preserving the personal distinction of the Godhead ; they cited Eudoxius and

<sup>s</sup> Soc. iv. 8 ; Soz. vi. 9 ; Theod. iv. 12-13 ; Pagi, v. 228 ; Tillem. Emp. v. 89 ; Mém. vi. 532, 550. His enmity is said to have been mitigated after a time by an unexpected mediator—the heathen orator Themistius, who addressed to him a plea for toleration.

(Soc. iv. 32.) But, although such a discourse exists, M. de Broglie throws doubts on its genuineness and on its supposed object. v. 71.

<sup>t</sup> Soz. iv. 26 ; Schröckh, vi. 192.

<sup>u</sup> Soz. iv. 4.

<sup>x</sup> Tillem. vi. 533 ; Möhler, ii. 246-7.

his party before them, and on their non-appearance sentenced them to deposition. But on applying to Valens for a confirmation of their proceedings, they found that the Acacians had pre-occupied his mind, and that they were themselves condemned to deprivation and banishment unless they would subscribe an Arian creed.<sup>y</sup>

The zeal which Valens soon after manifested in favour of Arianism induced the Macedonians to look towards the west for sympathy and support, and deputies were sent into Italy with letters for Valentinian and Liberius. The letters addressed to the emperor were not delivered;

A.D. 366. for the bearers, finding that he was in Gaul, did not follow him into that country. Liberius was at first distrustful of them; but on their anathematizing all heresies, and signing the *homoöusion* (which they interpreted as equivalent to *homoiousion*), he acknowledged them as being in communion with him, and wrote to the bishops by whom they had been commissioned. A like recognition was obtained from other western bishops; and thus the Semiarians, with the exception of a few who disavowed the late proceedings, were reunited with the orthodox.<sup>z</sup>

In 367 Valens issued an order that such bishops as had been banished by Constantius, and had returned to their sees under Julian, should again be ejected. At Antioch, where he established his residence, he drove out Meletius, although he allowed Paulinus to remain.<sup>a</sup> It was attempted under the same law to expel Athanasius, and he is said to have been driven to take refuge for a time in his father's tomb: but his people represented to the emperor that his case did not fall under the letter of the edict, and made such demonstrations of their attach-

<sup>y</sup> Soc. iv. 6; Soz. v. 7; Baron. 365.  
<sup>z</sup>, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Epiph. xviii. 10; Soc. ii. 8; Soz.

vi. 1-12; Tillem. vi. 540-5; Newman, 404.

<sup>a</sup> Soc. iv. 2; Tillem. vi. 548-9, 566-71.



ment to the bishop in other ways, that Valens thought it well to permit his return. And thus, while the cause to which his life had been devoted was oppressed in all other parts of the eastern empire, the great champion of orthodoxy was allowed to spend his last years in undisturbed possession of his see.<sup>b</sup>

The elder actors in the Arian controversy were now passing away. Liberius died in 366, and the succession to the see of Rome was disputed between Damasus<sup>c</sup> and Ursinus, or Ursicinus. This contest, which arose out of the old rivalry between Liberius and Felix, and did not involve any question of doctrine, occasioned violent tumults, and even great slaughter. On one occasion a hundred and sixty partisans of Ursinus, men and women, were killed in the church which bore the name of Liberius (now St. Mary Major).<sup>d</sup> At the end of three years Ursinus was banished to Gaul; but he repeatedly revived

<sup>b</sup> Rufin. ii. 2; Soc. iv. 13, 20; Soz. vi. 12.

<sup>c</sup> In this pope's own poems the middle syllable of his name is always short, *e.g.* :—

“Ut Damasī precibus faveas, precor,  
inclita virgo.”

*Carm.* 29, *De S. Agnete* (*Patrol.* xiii.).

The original marble of this poem is now placed in the wall of the staircase which leads down to the church of Agnes, near Rome, having been discovered in the course of repairing the pavement during the last century. See Murat. Antiq. Ital. v. 29, for the variety of readings. The beautiful letter of this pope's inscriptions is known to all who have observed them. The Commendatore De Rossi has discovered the name of the engraver—Furius Dionysius Filocalus (Roma Sotterr. i. 119-21; ii. 196-9)—a name already known in connection with a calendar which is reprinted in Migne's *Patrologia*, xiii. 675, seqq. See as to

Damasus' care for the catacombs, M. de Broglie, vi. 260.

<sup>d</sup> Faustin. et Marcellin. Præf. 3 (*Patrol.* xiii.). See De Broglie, v. 39; Thierry, ‘S. Jérôme,’ i. 108, seqq. Ammianus Marcellinus says that 137 dead bodies were found (xxvii. 9). According to Faustinus and Marcellinus, who were Luciferians, and partisans of Ursicinus, he was regularly elected, and Damasus, formerly an adherent of Felix, “quem in tantum matronæ diligebant ut *matronarum auriscalpius* diceretur” (Præf. 4), was guilty of all the bloodshed, but by visiting the court secured the banishment of his rival. Merenda, the editor of Damasus, denies the truth of this (*Patrol.* xiii. ; Prolegg. in Damas. 2, 3, 22); and an opposite tale is told by Jerome (*Chron.* A.D. 369), Rufinus (ii. 10), and others of the successful party. See Amm. Marc. xxvii. 3, 9. Soc. iv. 29; Soz. vi. 23; Tillem. viii. 387-96; Schröckh, viii. 107-10; Milman, Lat. Christ. i. 64.

his claim to the bishoprick of Rome, both during the lifetime of Damasus and at his death. Acacius died in 366;<sup>e</sup> Hilary, in 367 or 368.<sup>f</sup> The last mention of Ursacius and Valens as living is in the condemnation pronounced on them by synods at Rome and elsewhere about 369.<sup>g</sup> Eudoxius of Constantinople died in 370;<sup>h</sup> Lucifer of Cagliari, in 371;<sup>i</sup> Euzoius of Antioch, in 376.<sup>k</sup>

On the death of Eudoxius, Evagrius was set up as his successor by the catholics of Constantinople, and Demophilus by the Arians; but Evagrius was soon driven out, and his adherents were subjected to a variety of outrages. A complaint of this usage was presented to Valens at Nicomedia by eighty presbyters of the orthodox party; but, instead of obtaining redress, they were compelled to embark on board a ship, which the crew (it is said, by command of one of the emperor's officers) set on fire and deserted; and the whole company of ecclesiastics perished.<sup>l</sup> Other barbarities are related of Valens—as that at Antioch he ordered many of the orthodox to be drowned in the Orontes.<sup>m</sup> The monks of Egypt and Pontus were especially obnoxious to him—partly because the monastic profession afforded to many an excuse for indolence, and withdrew them from their duties to the state, and partly on account of their steady adherence to

<sup>e</sup> Tillem. vi. 535.

<sup>f</sup> Pagi, v. 265; Tillem. vii. 463.

<sup>g</sup> Ath. ad Afros, 1; ad Epictet. 1 (t. i. 891, 901); Tillem. viii. 396; Schröckh, xii. 33.

<sup>h</sup> Tillem. vi. 553.

<sup>i</sup> Baron. 371. 121.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. vi. 603.

<sup>l</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xiii. 46; Soc. iv. 15-16; Soz. vi. 14. Dean Milman (iii. 125) thinks it doubtful whether such orders had been given. Gibbon (ii. 404) of course makes as little as pos-

sible of the persecution by Valens. Against his view, see H. Schmidt, in Herzog, art. *Valens*. The old ecclesiastical historians connect the story of the emperor's own death—that he was burnt in a cottage where he had taken refuge after a defeat—with the burning of these victims. Such tracings of a connexion between misdeeds and calamities are of continual occurrence in these writers.

<sup>m</sup> Soc. iv. 2; Soz. vi. 18; Theod. iv. 24.

the Nicene faith and the exertion of their powerful influence in its behalf. The emperor in 373 ordered that monks should be dragged from their retreats, and should be compelled to perform their service as citizens, under the penalty of being beaten to death.<sup>n</sup> The Egyptian deserts were invaded by soldiers commissioned to enforce the edict, and many of the monks suffered death in consequence.<sup>o</sup>

Athanasius is supposed by the best authorities to have died in May, 373.<sup>p</sup> He had designated as his successor one of his presbyters named Peter. The Arian Lucius, who had been set up as bishop after the murder of George, and had held possession of the see during the exile of Athanasius under Julian, was now brought back by his party, and Peter was driven out with circumstances of outrage and profanation similar to those which accompanied the expulsion of his great predecessor by Gregory and George. Peter took refuge at Rome, and after a time returned with letters of recommendation from the bishop, Damasus; whereupon, as Valens was then at a distance—having been diverted from theological controversies by the Gothic war—the people rose against Lucius and reinstated the orthodox bishop.<sup>q</sup>

Valentinian was succeeded in 375 by his son Gratian, who had already for eight years held the dignity of Augustus.<sup>r</sup> The new emperor, whose own age was only sixteen, admitted as a nominal colleague his half-brother, the younger Valentinian, a child four years old. By the

<sup>n</sup> The word is *militare*, and it has been commonly said that Valens wished the monks to bear arms. (So M. de Broglie, v. 303.) But as the word is also applied to civil services, Godefroy maintains that its meaning here is general. In Cod. Theod. t. iv. 413: cf. Cod. Justin. X. xxxi. 26.

<sup>o</sup> Cod. Theod. XII. i. 63; Rufin. ii. 3; Soc. iv. 21; Soz. vi. 20; Tillem. vi.

602; Gibbon, ii. 406; Schröckh, xii. 48.

<sup>p</sup> Pagi, v. 371; Tillem. viii. 250, 719; Schröckh, xii. 237; Clinton; Pref. to Athan. Festal Letters, xi.

<sup>q</sup> Rufin. ii. 3-4; Soc. iv. 21, 33-7; Soz. vi. 19; Theod. iv. 20-2.

<sup>r</sup> Not Cæsar, according to earlier practice. Tillem. Emp. v. 30.

death of Valens, at the disastrous battle of Adrianople, Aug. 9, Gratian became in 378 master of the whole empire; but he hastened to relieve himself of a part of his cares by bestowing the sovereignty of the east on Theodosius, son of a general of the same name, whose distinguished services in Britain and in Africa had been requited by his execution at Carthage three years before.<sup>s</sup> The younger Theodosius had since lived in retirement on his estates in Spain, until he was summoned to share the empire, in the hope that his abilities might avert the dangers with which it was threatened by the Gothic invaders.<sup>t</sup>

Gratian, on succeeding to the dominions of Valens, proclaimed liberty of religion to all except Manichæans, Eunomians, and Photinians, and recalled the banished bishops of the east.<sup>u</sup> The Semiarians, on being thus freed from the oppression of Valens, broke off the connexion which they had so eagerly formed with the orthodox; but many refused to join in this movement, and remained united to the catholic body.<sup>x</sup>

It would seem to have been about this time that a denial of the Divinity of the Holy Ghost became the chief characteristic of the party.<sup>y</sup> Heterodox opinions on that subject had been implied in all the varieties of Arianism; but as the nature of the Third Person in the Trinity had not been brought into discussion while the Godhead of the Son was in question, nothing had been defined respecting it in the Nicene creed.<sup>z</sup> Athanasius,

<sup>s</sup> Rufin. ii. 14; Gibbon, ii. 428.

<sup>t</sup> Ib 488, 495.

<sup>u</sup> Soc. v. 4; Soz. vii. 1; Tillem. Emp. v. 154. *All* heresies were forbidden by two laws of the following year. Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 4-5; Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. t. vi. 117.

<sup>x</sup> Soc. v. 4; Soz. vii. 2; Tillem. vi.

613; Schröckh, ii. 52.

<sup>y</sup> It had not become conspicuous when the Semiarians were admitted to communion by Liberius, in 366. Tillem. vi. 543.

<sup>z</sup> Basil. Ep. cxxv. 3; Walch, iii. 100.

however, with his characteristic perception of consequences, had always strenuously asserted the equal and co-essential Godhead of the Spirit, as well as that of the Son,<sup>a</sup> and, in a treatise written from the desert during his exile under Constantius, had confuted the error of the *Pneumatomachi* (or adversaries of the Spirit), which was then acquiring distinctness.<sup>b</sup> Although the name of *Macedonianism*, which was afterwards attached to this heresy, would naturally convey the idea that it was invented by Macedonius, it was really nothing more than a remnant of Arianism retained by a party which had shaken off the other errors of that system; for the Semiarians now acknowledged the Godhead of the Son, while they maintained that the Spirit was as a servant—as one of the angels.<sup>c</sup> Nor do we even know what opinion Macedonius himself held on the question; for it was not until some years after his death that his name was connected with the heretical tenet, through the circumstance that the Semiarians happened to be called after him at the time when this tenet became the prominent mark of their party.<sup>d</sup>

In the meanwhile the Nicene faith had made progress. The consistency of its supporters stood in advantageous contrast with the continual variations of their opponents. The monks lent to it the great and growing authority of their reputation for sanctity; and, as has been mentioned, a large portion of the Semiarians adhered to the orthodox connexion into which they had been driven by the tyranny of Valens. Throughout all the long controversy the belief of the great mass of Christians had been very little

<sup>a</sup> *E.g.* Ep. ad. Afros, 11.

<sup>b</sup> Ath. Epp. ad Serapion. i. 1; iv. (the date is about A.D. 360); Soz. vi. 22; Neand. v. 84; Giesel. I. ii. 69-70.

<sup>c</sup> Greg. Naz. Orat. xli. 8; Epiph. ixxiv. 1; Soz. iv. 27; Petav. de Trin. I. xiv. 17; Kaye. 148. Some Mace-

donians apparently held the Spirit to be a creature, while others supposed the name to mean only an influence. Greg. Naz. Orat. xxi. 5; Petav. de Trin. I. xiv. 17, Walch, iii. 98.

<sup>d</sup> Soc. ii. 45; Soz. iv. 27. Theod. ii. 6; Giesel. I. ii. 70.

affected. In their pastoral teaching, as in their creeds, the Arian bishops and clergy had usually studied to observe orthodoxy of statement and language, so that their doctrine, although incomplete, was not untrue. Thus their flocks received the words in the sound meaning which was apparent on the surface, so that, according to a celebrated expression of St. Hilary, "The ears of the people were holier than the hearts of the priests."<sup>e</sup> And now, although Athanasius was gone, the great weight of ability and learning among the Christians was on the side of orthodoxy, which had lately gained a very important accession in the east. A class of theologians had arisen, who, born and educated in countries where Semiarianism prevailed, had in their earlier years been connected with that system—trained up according to its sound though imperfect creeds, in such a manner that one of them, when he had become an eminent champion of the Nicene doctrine, could yet speak of his opinions as having undergone no other change than a development like that of the plant from the seed.<sup>f</sup> The members of this school maintained the identity of *homoöusion* with *homoiousion*;<sup>g</sup> they brought with them into the orthodox communion many of their old associations; and through their influence it was that several Semiarians came to be acknowledged by the church as saints, and that the canons of the Semiarian councils of Antioch (A.D. 341) and Laodicea (A.D. 372 ?) gained a reception in the east, which was eventually extended to the west.<sup>h</sup> The most distinguished of the "later Nicene" teachers were three Cappadocians—Basil, his brother Gregory of Nyssa, and his friend Gregory of Nazianzus or Nazianzum. Of these eminent men the first and the last must be here more particularly noticed.

<sup>e</sup> Contra Auxentium, 6 (written in 364). See Giesel. I. ii. 61-2; Möhler, ii. 85-6; Neand. iv. 83.

<sup>f</sup> Basil Ep. xxxii. 3.

<sup>g</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 66. See Hampden, Bampton Lect. 127-30, and note.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xiii. 87-92; Giesel. I. ii. 67-8.



Basil and the Nazianzen Gregory were born about the same time—probably in the year 329.<sup>1</sup> Basil was of a noble Christian family.<sup>k</sup> The father of Gregory had belonged to a sect known by the name of hypsistarians, whose creed was a strange medley of Jewish and Persian notions;<sup>1</sup> he had been converted by his wife Nonna, a woman of remarkable piety, and had been appointed to the bishoprick of Nazianzum, a poor diocese, which had fallen into great disorder in consequence of long vacancy and neglect.<sup>m</sup> An acquaintance formed between the youths at the schools of Cæsarea, in their native province, ripened into the closest intimacy at Athens, where they spent several years.<sup>n</sup> They A.D. 351-5. were distinguished in all the studies of that city, and withstood the influences by which many who, like themselves had been trained in the Christian faith, were there drawn away to heathenism.<sup>o</sup> During a part of the time Julian was their fellow-student; and Gregory professes to have already observed in the future emperor indications of the evil which was manifested in his later career.<sup>p</sup> Both Basil and Gregory resolved to renounce the hopes of secular eminence, and to embrace a religious life. Each was baptized after leaving Athens, and Gregory promised

<sup>1</sup> As to Basil there is little question (Tillem. ix. 2). But Romanist writers, unwilling to suppose that Gregory was born after his father had become a bishop, are inclined to place his birth earlier—some of them (as Pagi, vi. 41), in 300, which would make his life extend to ninety years. See Gibbon, ii. 510; Schröckh, xiii. 269-70; Clinton, ann. 325, 390; Theiner, i. 265; Ullmann's Gregory of Nazianzum (trans. by G. V. Cox, Lond. 1851), 299, 308. Dupin's date (ii. 201) is 318.

<sup>k</sup> Greg. Orat. xliii. 3.

<sup>1</sup> See Ullmann, 308-11; Giesel. I. ii. 17; Matter, 'Hist. du Gnosticisme,' iii. 114-4; Dorner, ii. 40-2. The name

is derived from their professing to worship the Highest (τὸν ὕψιστον).

<sup>m</sup> Greg. Orat. vii. 4; viii. 4-5; xviii. 5, 8-13, 16; Carm. l. II. i. 117, seqq.; de Vita sua, 51, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> Greg. Orat. xlii. 13-19; de Vita sua, 221-36.

<sup>o</sup> Greg. Orat. xliii. 20-2; Vita Greg. 129-32; Soc. iv. 26; Soz. vi. 17. Gregory's account of Athenian student life is curious. Among other things he tells us that Basil's character commanded such respect as to procure for him exemption from the tricks usually practised on freshmen. Orat. xliii. 16.

<sup>p</sup> Orat. v. 23-4.

at the font to devote all his gifts and powers to the service of God.<sup>q</sup> Basil, after having travelled in Egypt and elsewhere, returned to his native country, and became one of the clergy of Cæsarea. He withdrew for five years

A.D. 357-  
362. into the desert of Pontus, where he founded monastic establishments, monachism having been lately introduced into that country by Eustathius, bishop of Sebaste.<sup>r</sup> The system which Basil adopted was the cœnobitic (or that of living in communities) as being in his judgment more conducive to the exercise of graces than the solitary life, which in Egypt had been regarded as the higher of the two.<sup>s</sup> "God," he said, "has made us—even like the bodily members—to need one another's help. For what discipline of humility, of pity, or of patience can there be, if there be no one towards whom these virtues can be practised? Whose feet wilt thou wash, whom wilt thou serve, how canst thou be the last of all—if thou art alone?"<sup>t</sup> In his rule practical industry was combined with religious exercises, and by the labours of his monks a barren tract was brought into cultivation and fertility.<sup>u</sup> Basil returned to Cæsarea in 362, and was ordained presbyter; but after a short time he again retired into the desert for three years, in consequence of some unexplained jealousy on the part of his bishop, Eusebius.<sup>x</sup> In each of his retreats he was accompanied for a time by Gregory, who, however, was on both occasions called away by disagreements between his father and the monks of Nazianzum, originating in the circumstance that the aged bishop had been induced to sign the creed of Rimini. Gregory by his ascetic life

<sup>q</sup> Ullmann, 49.

<sup>r</sup> When Eustathius afterwards fell into disrepute (see Tillem. t. ix. *passim*), the beginning of the work was generally ascribed to St. Basil. Walch, iii. 552-3; Schröckh, xiii. 25-7.

<sup>s</sup> See Broglie, v. 162-4.

<sup>t</sup> Basil. Resp. vii. t. ii. 345-8.

<sup>u</sup> Tillem. ix. 44; Milman, iii. 195-6.

<sup>x</sup> Greg. Orat. xxiii. 28; Tillem. ix. 67-71. For Eusebius, see Acta SS., Jun. 21, pp. 65, seqq.

had gained a powerful influence over the monks; he convinced them that his father had been deceived through ignorance of controversial subtleties, and had acted without any heretical intention; and he twice succeeded in establishing peace.<sup>y</sup> He also reconciled Basil <sup>A.D. 370 or</sup> with Eusebius;<sup>z</sup> and on that bishop's death <sup>371.</sup> he effected the promotion of his friend to the see of Cæsarea, to which was attached the primacy of the greater part of Asia Minor.<sup>a</sup>

The indefatigable labours of Basil, his controversies, his endeavours to unite the orthodox among themselves, to gain over sectaries to the church, and to establish peace between the east and the west, must be passed over with a mere allusion.<sup>b</sup> During the short time between his elevation and the death of Athanasius he enjoyed the confidence of that great prelate; and he succeeded the Alexandrian bishop as leader of the eastern orthodox.<sup>c</sup> Like Athanasius, he was able to preserve his church from the Arianism which was triumphant throughout the east during the reign of Valens. While a <sup>A.D. 366.</sup> presbyter under Eusebius, he had baffled the theologians of the emperor's train in disputation;<sup>d</sup> but soon after his advancement to the episcopate a fresh attempt was made on him. Valens, determined that Cæsarea alone should not continue to resist him, sent Modestus, prefect of Cappadocia, with a commission to expel Basil if he should refuse to conform to the dominant religion, and Modestus summoned the arch-

<sup>y</sup> Greg. Orat. vi.; xliiii. 29; Vita, 133-5; Tillem ix. 40, 60, 347; Ullmann, 65, 72.

<sup>z</sup> Greg. Orat. xliiii. 33; Epp. 16-18.

<sup>a</sup> Basil. Ep. 47; Greg. Epp. 40-4; Vita, 138; Pagi, v. 270, 289, 297.

<sup>b</sup> The life of St. Basil is related at great length in the Acta SS. (June 14), by Tillemont (vol. ix.), by Schröckh (vol. xiii.), and in the Benedictine edition

of his works. See too M. de Broglie's 5th volume. Klose's 'Basilius der Grosse' (Stralsund, 1835) has not fallen in my way.

<sup>c</sup> Tillem. viii. 245. Among Basil's epistles there are some addressed to Athanasius.

<sup>d</sup> Greg. Orat. xliiii. 32; Tillem. ix 90, 654.

bishop to appear before him. To his threats Basil replied that he did not fear them; confiscation, he said, could not touch a man who had no property except a single suit of ragged clothes and a few books; as for banishment, he denied that such a thing was possible—go where he might, he could find a home, or rather he regarded the whole earth as God's, and himself as a stranger everywhere; his feeble body could bear no tortures beyond the first stroke; and death would be a favour, since it would conduct him to God. The prefect, who had opened the conference in a very peremptory tone, was subdued by the archbishop's firmness,<sup>e</sup> and reported the result to his master, who soon after arrived at Cæsarea. Valens himself was awed by the presence of Basil and the solemnity of the catholic worship, which he witnessed on the feast of the Epiphany, but without being admitted to communicate. The impression thus made is said to have been heightened by miracles; and not only was Basil left unmolested in his see, but the emperor bestowed a valuable estate on a large hospital which the archbishop's charity had founded.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>e</sup> Tillem. ix. 155-6; Schröckh, xiii. 101.

<sup>f</sup> Greg. Orat. xliii. 48, seqq.; Soc. iv. 26; Soz. vi. 6; Tillem. ix. 161. On the hospital, see Greg. l. c. 63. In connexion with the scene between Basil and Valens, Gibbon quotes from St. Jerome's Chronicle (A.D. 380)—"Basilus . . . clarus habetur . . . qui multa continentiarum bona uno superbiam malo perdidit." "This irreverent passage," says the historian, "is perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome. It does not appear in Scaliger's edition of his chronicle; but Isaac Vossius found it in some old MSS., which had not been reformed by the monks" (ii. 405). The editors do not deny the genuineness of the words "qui . . . perdidit," but are indignant with Vos-

sius, and transfer them to the preceding line of the Chronicle, which has Photinus for its subject. But if the words related to so friendless a reputation as his, why should they be wanting in any copies? They are, indeed, too "perfectly in the style and character of St. Jerome" to affect St. Basil's good name very seriously if they stood by themselves, since he was obnoxious to Jerome as an abettor of Meletius of Antioch (Basil. Epp. 67, 89, 114, 258), and as having had some disagreements with Damasus of Rome. But charges of pride and superciliousness against Basil appear to have been common. Gregory, in his panegyric oration (xliii. 64), defends him against them on the somewhat unsatisfactory

Soon after this Valens divided Cappadocia into two provinces; whereupon Anthimus, bishop of Tyana, which became the capital of the second division, asserted that the ecclesiastical government ought to follow the arrangements of the civil, and claimed for himself the rights of a metro-

A.D. 372.

politan.<sup>g</sup> Finding that the claim revived some jealousies which had been felt at his election to Cæsarea, Basil resolved to strengthen himself by erecting new bishop-ricks; and one of the places chosen for this purpose was Sasima, an outpost on the border of his opponent's province—the meeting-place of three great roads, a posting station and the seat of a frontier custom-house; a wretched little town, dry, dusty, and continually disquieted by the brawls of waggoners, travellers, and revenue officers.<sup>h</sup> Here Basil, with that disregard for the character and feelings of others which is not uncommon in persons of a strongly practical nature, determined to place Gregory, who had some years before been forcibly ordained<sup>i</sup> a presbyter by his own father. Gregory made no secret of his repugnance to the execution of this scheme; he said that the archbishop's elevation had caused him to forget what was due to their ancient and equal friendship;<sup>k</sup> he resisted until he was overpowered by the united urgency of his father and Basil;<sup>l</sup> and he afterwards traced all the troubles of his later life to the consent which was at length extorted from him.<sup>m</sup> After his consecration he felt himself op-

ground that he was tender to the poor, to lepers, and other objects of pity. Rufinus, in characterizing the friends, says that Basil was humble towards God, but that Gregory was so towards men also. ii. 9.

<sup>g</sup> Basil, Epp. 73, 77; Greg. Orat. xliii. 58.

<sup>h</sup> Ib. 54; de Vita sua, 439-446, Vita, 159. See the Benedictine Pre-

face, 35 seqq.

De Vita sua, 338-349; Ullmann, 67.

<sup>k</sup> Ep. 48; Orat. x. 2; xliii. 59; de Vita sua, 398-414, 475, 485. "Cette manière de disposer de lui, sans son consentement, le blessa, au lieu de le toucher," says M. de Broglie, v. 151.

<sup>l</sup> De Vita sua, 425.

<sup>m</sup> Orat. xviii. 37; xliii. 59.

pressed by his high views of the episcopal responsibility, by his love for a life of contemplation, and by the sense of his unfitness to dispute his position with Anthimus.<sup>n</sup> He refused to proceed to Sasima, and was then persuaded by his father to assist him in the care of Nazianzum.<sup>o</sup> After the old man's death, which took place in 374, Gregory continued for some time to administer the diocese, while he endeavoured to obtain the appointment of a regular bishop; but, finding his exertions for this purpose vain, he withdrew to Seleucia, where he spent three or four years in retirement.<sup>p</sup>

Theodosius, as a Spaniard, belonged to the Nicene party, but at the time of his elevation to the empire was only a catechumen. In the beginning of 380 he fell dangerously sick at Thessalonica; when he sent for the bishop of the place, and, after having ascertained his orthodoxy, received baptism at his hands.<sup>q</sup> His admission to the church was followed by an  
 Feb. 28, 380. edict, which was at first limited to Constantinople, but in the following year was extended to all his  
 Jan. 10, 381. dominions—that those only should be acknowledged as catholic Christians who adhered to the faith of the co-essential Trinity, as it had been taught by St. Peter to the Romans, and was then held by Damasus of Rome and Peter of Alexandria; that all who denied this doctrine should be reputed as heretics and discouraged.<sup>r</sup> Gratian also—at the instigation (it is supposed) of Ambrose, bishop of Milan—limited by later edicts the toleration which he had announced in 378.<sup>s</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Epp. 48-50.

<sup>o</sup> De Vita sua, 495-529; Tillem. ix. 183-1, 390-9; Ullmann, 127.

<sup>p</sup> Vita, 140-1; Tillem. ix. 404-5.

<sup>q</sup> Soc. v. 6; Tillem. Emp. v. 97.

<sup>r</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. i. 2; Soz. vii.

<sup>s</sup> See Broglie, v. 364.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 4-5, dated from Milan, in 379, repeal the edict issued at Sirmium in the preceding



In November 380, Theodosius arrived at Constantinople. About two years before, when the death of Valens appeared to open a new prospect to the orthodox, Gregory of Nazianzum had been induced by Basil and other leaders of the party to undertake a mission to that capital.<sup>t</sup> He entered on the enterprise with much distrust of his qualifications. Arianism was in great strength at Constantinople, where the see had for nearly forty years been filled by its partisans. The Novatianists had some churches; the Apollinarians were gaining a footing in the city; but the orthodox were very few, and even these were divided among themselves by sympathy with the opposite parties in the schism of Antioch.<sup>u</sup> Gregory was obliged at first to officiate in the house of a relation—which, from the resurrection (*anastasis*) of the true faith, acquired the name of *Anastasia*,<sup>x</sup> and was afterwards enlarged into a splendid church. At the outset he had to encounter much prejudice. His austere, simple, and recluse life appeared in unpopular contrast with the free and secular habits of the Arian clergy.<sup>y</sup> His doctrine was regarded as polytheistic.<sup>z</sup> He was repeatedly assaulted by the populace, and by the staff of the Arian establishment—monks, virgins, and beggars; he was stoned, he was carried before magistrates as a disturber of the peace, his church was invaded by night and profaned.<sup>a</sup> But he persevered in his mission, and, although the object of it was controversial, he earnestly endeavoured to counteract in his hearers the prevailing habit of familiarly discussing the highest mysteries of religion—exhorting them “not to make a sport of the

year (p. 362), and forbid *all* heresies. See Gothofr. in Cod. Theod. t. vi. 117.

<sup>t</sup> De Vita sua, 585-606; Vita, 142; Pagi in Bar. v. 464; Tillem. ix. 411-14, 707; Ullmann, 166.

<sup>u</sup> Greg. de Vita sua, 583, seqq.;

Tillem. ix. 436; Schröckh, xiii. 336; Ullmann, 162-3.

<sup>x</sup> Vita, 143.

<sup>y</sup> Orat. xxxiii.; xxxvi. 2.

<sup>z</sup> De Vita sua, 655.

<sup>a</sup> Ib. 652-78; Soz. vii. 5; Tillem. ix. 414, 418, 425-8, 431-3, 708-9.

things of God, as if they were matters of the theatre or of the race-course.”<sup>b</sup> By degrees, his eloquence, the practical and religious tone of his doctrinal teaching, and the influence of his mild and serious character, began to tell, so that the little Anastasia became unable to contain the crowds which resorted to it.<sup>c</sup> The progress of this success had, indeed, been slightly interrupted by one Maximus, an Egyptian, who had formerly been a cynic philosopher. This man, after having insinuated himself into Gregory’s confidence, was ordained bishop in a disorderly manner by some emissaries of Peter of Alexandria, although Peter had before approved of Gregory’s mission.<sup>d</sup> But the pretender was rejected by the people, and in vain endeavoured to find support from the emperor and from the bishop of Rome.<sup>e</sup>

On his arrival at Constantinople, Theodosius summoned before him the Arian bishop, Demophilus, and required him to subscribe the Nicene creed, on pain of deprivation. Demophilus assembled his flock, and reminded them of the Saviour’s charge “when persecuted in one city” to “flee to another.” The Arians were forthwith turned out of all the churches, and began to hold their meetings without the walls of the capital.<sup>f</sup> A few days after this, Theo-

<sup>b</sup> Orat. xxii. 8; xxvii. 3, 31; xxxii. 20, 32, &c.; De Vita sua, 1208, seqq.; Neand. iv. 80.

<sup>c</sup> De Vita sua, 1079-1272; Soz. vii. 9; Gibbon, ii. 520; Schröckh, xiii. 388-90.

<sup>d</sup> De Vita sua, 773-1030; Vita, 145-7. Gregory amuses himself with the change of a cynic into a bishop—of a dog into a shepherd—

κυνῶν τυπούσι τὸν κάκιστον ποιμένα, κείραντες. κ.τ.λ. 912-13.

In the days of their friendship, Gregory had treated this topic very differently—

κύων, οὐ τὴν ἀναισχυντίαν, ἀλλὰ τὴν παρρησίαν· οὐδὲ τὴν ὕλακην, ἀλλὰ τὴν φυλακὴν τοῦ καλοῦ, καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ τῶν ψυχῶν ἀγρυπνον, etc. Orat. xxv. 2; see Edinb. Rev. cxxvi. 102.

<sup>e</sup> Damas. Ep. 5 (Patrol. xiii.), Theod. v. 7; Tillem. ix. 443-7. Maximus contrived to get St. Ambrose into his interest (Ambr. Ep. 14). Ullmann (203) and Dean Milman (iii. 202) suppose that by this consecration the Alexandrians meant to set up a claim of supremacy over Constantinople.

<sup>f</sup> Soc. iv. 7.

dosius formally put Gregory into possession of the principal church of Constantinople. The morning was gloomy, Gregory was suffering from illness, and, as the procession passed through streets lined with troops, he was dismayed by the thought that a bishop should need such a protection against his own flock. But at the moment of his entrance into the choir, a sudden burst of sunshine lighted up the building, and the people, catching enthusiasm from the change, cried out that the emperor should place him on the episcopal throne. Gregory, however, declined to take his seat, and feeling himself, from agitation and bodily weakness, unable to address the congregation, he employed the voice of another to speak for him—"Now it is time to acknowledge the benefits which the blessed Trinity has bestowed on us; but of the throne we will consider hereafter."<sup>g</sup> Such was the exasperation of the Arians that attempts were made to assassinate him.<sup>h</sup>

Theodosius proceeded to assemble a council, which met at Constantinople on May 2, 381. It was composed of oriental bishops only; but Nov. 381. its decrees were afterwards gradually received throughout the west, and it is consequently acknowledged as the second general council.<sup>i</sup> A hundred and fifty orthodox prelates attended. Among them were Meletius, Gregory of Nyssa (whose brother Basil had died in the preceding year),<sup>k</sup> and Cyril of Jerusalem, who had formerly been connected with the Semiarian party. The Macedonians had been invited, in the hope that they might renew the union which they had formed with the catholics in the reign of Valens; but, although thirty-six of them appeared

<sup>g</sup> De Vita sua, 1304-1595; Vita, 151-2; Tillem. Emp. v. 208; Mém. ix. 459; Gibbon, ii. 521.

<sup>h</sup> De Vita sua, 1445; Vita, 151.

Pagi, v. 498-9; Newman, n. on

Fleury, vol. i. p. iii.; Tillem. Emp. v. 213; Schröckh, ix. 305; Hefere, ii. 29-32.

<sup>k</sup> Clinton, A.D. 380.

in answer to the summons, it was found that they would not submit to a reconciliation.<sup>1</sup>

The earlier sessions were held under the presidency of Meletius, to whom the see of Antioch had lately been adjudged by an imperial commissary;<sup>m</sup> and by him, after an examination of the pretensions of Maximus,<sup>n</sup> Gregory was solemnly enthroned as bishop of Constantinople.<sup>o</sup> But Meletius died while the council was sitting,<sup>p</sup> and deplorable dissensions followed. With a view to healing the schisms which had so long afflicted the church of Antioch, six of its clergy, who were regarded as the most likely to be raised to the episcopate, had lately entered into an engagement, which is said to have been even ratified by an oath, that on the death of either Paulinus or Meletius, they would acknowledge the survivor as rightful bishop;<sup>q</sup> but a jealousy which had arisen between the Asiatic bishops and those of Egypt and the west now interfered with the execution of this arrangement. The Asiatics objected to Paulinus as having been ordained by a Latin, Lucifer, and as being connected with the Latin party; and, notwithstanding the earnest remonstrances of Gregory,<sup>r</sup> now president of the council,<sup>s</sup> whose natural inclination towards the Meletian party was overpowered by his desire of peace and by his sense of the impropriety of the proceeding—they consecrated Flavian, one of the six who are represented as having bound themselves to renounce their pretensions to the see.<sup>t</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Soc. v. 8; Soz. vii. 7; Walch, iii. 109.

<sup>m</sup> Theod. v. 3.

<sup>n</sup> The consecration of Maximus and his episcopal acts were annulled by the fourth canon of the council.

<sup>o</sup> De Vita sua, 1525.

<sup>p</sup> Tillem. viii. 374. Walch (iv. 465-7) notices the perplexities of Romish writers as to this case of a person who

died out of communion with Rome, and yet is regarded as a saint. Comp. Tillem. xvi. 372, 661.

<sup>q</sup> Soz. vi. 7. Theodoret (v. 3) gives a somewhat different account. (See Schröckh, xii. 51-2.)

<sup>r</sup> De Vita sua, 1590-1679.

<sup>s</sup> Pref. to Orat. xlii. in the Bened. edition.

<sup>t</sup> Soc. v. 9; Soz. vii. 11 Baron.

Timothy, who had just succeeded his brother Peter<sup>u</sup> at Alexandria, soon after arrived, with a train of bishops. The Egyptians were offended at not having been earlier summoned to the council, and were greatly exasperated by the late proceedings. They resolved once more to set up their countryman Maximus, and to depose Gregory, under the pretext that his appointment to Constantinople was in breach of a Nicene canon, which forbade the translation of bishops. The malice and unfairness of this objection were palpable; for the canon had often been disregarded in practice, and Gregory's acceptance of the see hardly came even within its letter, inasmuch as he had neither acted in the diocese of Sasima, nor been appointed to that of Nazianzum; much less did it violate the intention of the canon, which was to check the ambition of bishops.<sup>x</sup> But he was not disposed to contest the question. He was sick both in body and in spirit, and even before the opening of the council had attempted to withdraw from his stormy position of eminence to the quiet life of contemplation which he best loved;<sup>y</sup> he had accepted the bishoprick only in the hope that he might be able to mediate between the eastern party and that which was formed by the junction of the western with the Egyptian bishops.<sup>z</sup> Both now turned against him—the Asiatics, because he had opposed them in the matter of Antioch; the bishops of Egypt and

381. 44; Tillem. ix. 479; x. 529; Schröckh, xiii. 418; Ullmann, 245; Newman, 417. Tillemont questions the story of the oath (viii. 371; x. 527). Walch thinks the whole account of the arrangement improbable (iv. 462, 471). All that we really know of Flavian is greatly to his honour (ibid. 472-3, 476). The election was not made by the council, but probably by the bishops of the Antiochene patriarchate who were then at Constantinople. See Walch, iv. 471.

<sup>u</sup> Peter seems to have before his death resumed communion with Gregory. Tillem. ix. 456; Schröckh, xiii. 393.

<sup>x</sup> Conc. Nic. c. 15. The prohibition had been more particularly repeated in canons of Antioch and Sardica. But it had been so often evaded by distinctions, or overruled, that Gregory styled it a "dead and extinct law." De Vita sua, 1810-11.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 1745; Vita, 153, 155.

<sup>z</sup> De Vita sua, 1529, seqq.

Macedonia, because, although opposed to the election of Flavian, he had presided over the council by whose members it was determined. Gregory entreated that no one would attempt to maintain his rights, and declared that he would gladly become a Jonah to appease the furious waves of party strife. His resignation was accepted—reluctantly by the emperor, but with an indecent eagerness by the majority of the bishops;<sup>a</sup> and he took leave of the council in an eloquent and pathetic discourse—stating his orthodox faith, recounting his labours at Constantinople, and strongly denouncing the luxury and secularity, the jealousies and corruptions, which disgraced the church and her rulers.<sup>b</sup> A list of persons qualified to succeed to the bishoprick was drawn up, and from it the emperor selected Nectarius, a man of senatorial rank, who, being as yet only a catechumen, was forthwith baptized, and within a few days was consecrated—wearing the episcopal robes over the white dress of a neophyte.<sup>c</sup> Gregory, after leaving Constantinople, again assumed the charge of Nazianzum, until he succeeded in obtaining the appointment of a regular bishop.<sup>d</sup> He spent his last years in retirement, soothing himself with the composition of poetry, and died in 389 or 390.<sup>e</sup>

The council of Constantinople, by additions to the article on the Holy Ghost (which were in substance taken

<sup>a</sup> De Vita sua, 1865-1904; Vita, 156.

<sup>b</sup> Orat. xlii.; Soz. vii. 7; Theod. v.

8. There are also farewell poems, lib. ii. 4-12.

<sup>c</sup> Theod. v. 7; Soz. vii. 8; Bingham. IV. ii. 16. Such sudden elevations had been forbidden by canons (Can. Nic. 2; Can. Sardic. 10; Can. Laodic. 3). The only thing that seems creditable to Nectarius (says Tillemont, ix. 486-8) is the circumstance that, when Theodosius had marched against Maximus, the Arians, on a false report of

his defeat, burnt the bishop's house (Soc. v. 13); and (he adds) even of this the meritoriousness is questionable, since the heretics do not appear to have acted from personal dislike of the bishop.

<sup>d</sup> Epp. 182-3; Rufin. ii. 9.

<sup>e</sup> Vita, 157-8; Tillem. ix. 505, 555; Ullmann, 271-97; Pagi (vi. 39) says 391. Cf. Life of Bp. Ken by a Layman (J. L. Anderdon), ed. 2, pp. 739 seqq.



from a work of Epiphanius, written some years before), brought the Nicene creed to its present form, except that the procession of the Holy Spirit from the Son was not mentioned.<sup>f</sup> Among its canons was one which assigned to the bishop of Constantinople a precedence next after the bishop of Rome—"forasmuch as it is a new Rome."<sup>g</sup>

Of the heresies condemned by the council, the only one which has not been already noticed is the Apollinarian. The founder of this, Apollinarius or Apollinaris, was son of an Alexandrian rhetorician of the same name, who settled at Laodicea in Syria. Both father and son were distinguished as writers; they were the chief authors of the ingenious substitutes for the classics by which the Christians endeavoured to baffle Julian's intention of excluding them from the cultivation of literature; and the younger Apollinarius especially had gained a high reputation by his controversial works against various forms of heresy.<sup>h</sup> He was honoured with the friendship of St. Athanasius,<sup>i</sup> and in 362 was appointed to the bishoprick of Laodicea.<sup>k</sup>

An opinion condemned by the Alexandrian council of 362<sup>l</sup> has been wrongly identified with the error of Apollinarius, which was not put forth until later.<sup>m</sup> It was,

<sup>f</sup> Epiphanius, 'Ancoratus,' 121 (t. ii. p. 124). See Tillem. ix. 494 6; Hefele, ii. 10; Stanley, 174. The first mention of these additions as having been made by the council of Constantinople was at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451. (Labbe, iv. 309 [*i.e.* 323]). The first appearance of *filioque* in the creed is at the council of Toledo, A.D. 589 (Giesel. II. i. 107). See hereafter.

<sup>g</sup> Can. 3. Baronius (381. 35) asserts that this canon, so inconsistent with the later papal pretensions, is spurious; but he is refuted by Pagi (in loc.), and Alexandre Noël (viii. 177). The last of the seven canons ascribed to the council is spurious, and of date later

than 455; the 5th and 6th probably belong to a council held at Constantinople in the year after the general council. See Schröckh, xii. 58; Routh's Script. Eccl. Opuscula, i. 422; Newman, n. on Fleury, vol. i. p. 20; Hefele, ii. 27.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xiii. 223-5.

<sup>i</sup> Epiph. lxxvii. 2. Socrates (ii. 46) and Sozomen (vi. 23) tell a story as to the formation of the sect, which is clearly inconsistent with known dates.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. vii. 611, 790.

<sup>l</sup> Hard. i. 736.

<sup>m</sup> See Walch, iii. 130; Schröckh, xiii. 227-8; Neand. iv. 104.

however, current during the last years of Athanasius, who wrote in refutation of it, although—probably from considerations of old friendship, and of the services which Apollinarius had formerly rendered to the orthodox cause—he abstained from mentioning his name.<sup>n</sup>

While the Arians altogether denied the existence of a human soul in Christ,<sup>o</sup> and employed the texts which relate to his humanity as proofs of the imperfection of his higher nature, Apollinarius followed the Platonic school in dividing the nature of man into body, animal or vital soul ( $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ), and intellectual or rational soul ( $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ ).<sup>p</sup> From the variableness and sinfulness of man's rational soul he argued that, if the Saviour had had such a soul, he must together with it have had its freedom of will, and therefore a tendency to sin; consequently (he proceeded to say), *that* part of man's nature was not assumed by the Saviour, but the Divine Logos supplied its place, controlling the evil impulses of the animal soul, of which the body is the passive instrument.<sup>q</sup> Some of the followers of Apollinarius, if not he himself, maintained that the flesh of Christ existed before his appearance in the world, and was not taken by him of the substance of the blessed Virgin, but was brought down from heaven—a notion for which they professed to find authority in some texts of Scripture.<sup>r</sup>

<sup>n</sup> Ath. ad Epictetum (Opera, ii. 901, seqq.); adv. Apollin. libri ii. (of which the genuineness is doubtful); Tillem. vii. 614; Schröckh, xiii. 228, 234; Möhler, ii. 204; Newman, n. on Athan. Orat. 502. Walch (iii. 171-2) and Schröckh (xii. 222) are inclined to think that St. Athanasius did not write against Apollinarianism as such.

<sup>o</sup> See p. 288.

<sup>p</sup> Greg. Nyss. 'Antirrhetic.' 48 (in Zacagni, 'Collectanea Monumentorum,' Rom. 1698). See the account of the conference between Epiphanius

and Vitalis, Apollinarian bishop of Antioch, in Epiph. lxxvii. 3; Theod. Hær. Fab. iv. 8, Walch, iii. 183; Neand. iv. 93, 104; Giesel. I. ii. 72-3.

<sup>q</sup> Ath. c. Apollin. i. 2; ii. 6; Greg. Nyss. 40; Rufin. ii. 20. Justin Martyr speaks of the Saviour as having  $\sigma\omega\mu\alpha$  καὶ λογὸν καὶ  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$ ν (Apol. ii. 10); but the meaning is evidently not Apollinarian—the distinction between  $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta$  and  $\nu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$  not being in the writer's thought. See Petav. de Incarn. I. vi. 6-7, 14.

<sup>r</sup> E.g. John i. 14; iii. 13; I Cor. x.

After the death of Athanasius, Apollinarius published his opinions more openly.<sup>s</sup> He did not suppose himself to be opposed to the catholic faith, but rather to have discovered the true grounds on which it was to be maintained.<sup>t</sup> Finding however that this view of the matter was not generally accepted, he formed a sect of his own, setting up bishops at Antioch and elsewhere ;<sup>u</sup> and, like Bardesanes and Arius, he procured currency for his doctrines by embodying them in hymns and popular songs.<sup>x</sup> Notwithstanding the anathemas pronounced against Apollinarianism by many synods, and at last by the general council of Constantinople, its founder retained his bishoprick until his death, which took place before the year 392. The sect appears to have run into further errors, but did not long survive him.<sup>y</sup>

A.D. 376.

47. Gregory of Nazianzum, Ep. 202 (t. ii. 168), says that he had found this in one of the heresiarch's own writings (cf. Ep. 101, p. 87; Greg. Nyss. Antirr. 12, 24-5, 33; Epiph. lxxvii. 2, 13; Theod. Hær. Fab. iv. 9; Petav. de Incarn. l. vi. 8-9); but Schröckh (xiii. 236) disbelieves him (comp. Walch, iii. 160, 191-3). Möhler (ii. 265-6) has some good remarks as to the proneness of German protestant writers on the history of doctrines with whom he might have included many writers of his own church) to deny the truth of all statements which do not fall in with their own theories.

\* Tillem. vi. 615-16; Newman, 302.

<sup>t</sup> Neand. iv. 104. Yet Gregory of Nazianzum (Ep. 101, p. 92) and Theodoret (Hær. Fab. iv. 8) say that, although he admitted the co-essentiality of the three Divine Persons, he distinguished the Spirit, Son, and Father, as respectively great, greater, and greatest.

<sup>u</sup> Tillem. vii. 620; Schröckh, xiii. 255.

<sup>x</sup> Soz. vi. 25.

<sup>y</sup> Vales. n. in Sozom. vi. 25; Pagin Baron. v. 397, 456; Tillem. vii. 623-6, 630; Schröckh, xiii. 256-7, 262. The article on Apollinarius in Herzog is entirely favourable to him.

## CHAPTER V.

FROM THE END OF THE SECOND GENERAL COUNCIL TO  
THE DEATH OF THEODOSIUS—ST. AMBROSE.

A.D. 381-395.

I. IT has been mentioned that the Arian Auxentius was allowed by Valentinian to retain the important see of Milan.<sup>a</sup> On his death, in 374, the emperor was requested to nominate an archbishop, but, agreeably to his principle of avoiding interference in spiritual affairs, he referred the choice to the people. An eager contest ensued between the catholics and the Arians. While both parties were assembled in the principal church, and it seemed likely that their excitement would break out into deeds of violence, the governor of Liguria, Ambrose, appeared, and made a speech exhorting them to peace. When he ceased, a little child, it is said, was heard to utter the words, "Ambrose, bishop!" and immediately the cry was caught up by the whole assemblage.<sup>b</sup> The governor, who, although of Christian parentage, was as yet only a catechumen, wished to avoid an office so alien from his former thoughts and studies. He attempted by various devices to convince the Milanese that his character was unsuitable; he fled more than once from the city; but he was brought back, and, as Valentinian approved of the election, was consecrated within a week after his baptism.<sup>c</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Page 356.

<sup>b</sup> *Vita Ambrosii*, by Paulinus, 6 (*Patrol.* xiv.); *Soc.* iv. 20; *Soz.* vi. 24.

<sup>c</sup> Tillemont argues that, as the Scriptural order against the promotion of a "novice" (1 Tim. iii. 6) was given on

account of the danger of pride, it did not apply here (x. 92-3). It is amusing to contrast his remarks on the elevation of Ambrose with those on the parallel case of Nectarius. See above, p. 376.

Ambrose, the son of a prætorian prefect of Gaul, had been educated as an advocate, and at the time of his election to the archbishoprick was thirty-four years of age.<sup>d</sup> He forthwith set himself to make up by assiduous study for his previous neglect of theological learning.<sup>e</sup> It would seem that, on his sudden elevation, he yielded himself without suspicion or reserve to the tendencies of that fashion of religion which he found prevailing; and from the combination of this with his naturally lofty and energetic character resulted a mixture of qualities which might almost seem incompatible,—of manliness, commanding dignity, and strong practical sense, with a fanciful mysticism and a zealous readiness to encourage and forward the growing superstitions of the age.<sup>f</sup> “The Old and New Testament,” it has been well said, “met in the person of Ambrose—the implacable hostility to idolatry, the abhorrence of every deviation from the established form of belief; the wise and courageous benevolence, the generous and unselfish devotion to the great interests of humanity.”<sup>g</sup>

After the death of Valentinian, Ambrose acquired a strong influence over the mind of Gratian, for whose especial instruction he wrote A.D. 375. some treatises.<sup>h</sup> But in Justina, the widow of the late

<sup>d</sup> Pagi, v. 268; Tillem. x. 82.

<sup>e</sup> Ib. 97-9. “Factum est ut prius docere inciperem quam discere. Discendum igitur mihi simul et docendum est, quoniam non vacavit ante discere.” Ambr. de Offic. Ministr. I. i. 4.

<sup>f</sup> This was not, however, without exception. On one occasion he broke down and sold his church-plate for the redemption of captives who had been carried away by barbarians. Dean Milman says (iii. 246), “Even Fleury argues that they were not consecrated vessels.” But Fleury (xvii. 39) adds that he “reserved those which were

consecrated for some greater need;” and in this he is warranted by St. Ambrose himself, who says (De Offic. Ministr. ii. 28) that unconsecrated plate is to be used for such purposes *first*, although the consecrated may follow if required; in which case the vessels ought to be broken down, to prevent profanation. This course was afterwards sanctioned by councils, e.g. Conc. Remense, A.D. 625 or 630, c. 22

<sup>g</sup> Milman, iii. 245.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, xiv. 163-76; Gibbon ii. 529; Broglie, vi. c. 5.

emperor, and mother of the younger Valentinian (whose chief residence was at Milan), he found a bitter and persevering enemy. This princess was devoted to the Arian creed, and her first disagreement with Ambrose appears to have been in 379, when he defeated her in an attempt to procure the appointment of a heretical bishop to Sirmium.<sup>i</sup> But notwithstanding this collision, when tidings reached Milan in 383 that Gratian had been murdered at Lyons by the partisans of the rebel Maximus, Justina placed her young son in the archbishop's arms, and entreated him to become his protector. Ambrose accepted the charge, proceeded to Treves, where Maximus had fixed his court, and obtained his consent to a partition of the west—Maximus taking for himself Britain, Gaul, and Spain, while the other countries were left to Valentinian.<sup>k</sup>

Two years later, however, a fresh contest with the empress-mother arose. Ambrose had succeeded in extinguishing Arianism among the citizens of Milan, so that its only adherents in the place were a portion of the court and some Gothic soldiers.<sup>l</sup> To these the arch-

bishop was required, on the approach of  
 A.D. 385. Easter, to give up, first, the Portian basilica, (a church without the walls,)<sup>m</sup> and afterwards the largest church within the city, which had just been erected on the site now occupied by that which bears his name. He was twice summoned before the council, who told him that he must yield to the imperial power. He replied that he was ready to part with anything that was his own—even his life; but that he was not at liberty to surrender what was sacred: "Palaces," he said, "are for the emperor; churches are for God's priests."<sup>n</sup> The

<sup>i</sup> Paulinus, II.

<sup>k</sup> Soc. v. 11; Tillem. x. 153; Gibbon, II. 529.

<sup>l</sup> Ambr. Ep. xx. 12.

<sup>m</sup> On the site of the church of St. Victor, which is within the walls of later date.

<sup>n</sup> Ep. xx. 8. In allusion to the man-



populace of the city were greatly excited. They tore down the hangings which had been put up by way of preparing the churches for the reception of the emperor; they seized an Arian presbyter in the streets, and would probably have killed him, if Ambrose had not interposed to rescue him; they surrounded the palace while the archbishop was in attendance on the council. The imperial ministers in alarm entreated him to restrain his partisans; Ambrose answered that it was in his power to refrain from exciting them, but that it was in God's hand only to appease them; that, if he were suspected of having instigated the tumult, he ought to be punished by banishment or otherwise. Even the soldiery showed a disposition to take part with the catholics, and some of them, who had been sent to occupy the new church, declared that they were come, not to fight, but to join in the archbishop's prayers. The empress at length yielded, and a heavy fine which had been laid on the traders of Milan as a punishment for the first demonstration in favour of Ambrose was remitted.<sup>o</sup>

In the beginning of the following year an edict was issued, allowing entire freedom of religion Jan. 23, to those who should profess the creed of 386. Rimini, and denouncing death against all who should molest them.<sup>p</sup> Soon after its publication Ambrose was required, under pain of deprivation, to argue his cause with the bishop of the Arian party, a Goth who had

ner in which Justina carried about her religious establishment, Ambrose says that, as the Goths had formerly lived in waggons, they now had a waggon for a church (ib. 12). Writers who censure his conduct usually overlook a somewhat important distinction—that the demand was not that he should allow the Arians to exercise their worship, but that he should transfer to them a building which

belonged to the catholics. Neander (whose admiration of Christian heroes is sometimes even stronger than his love for sectarianism) vindicates Ambrose, and supposes that if the first concession had been made, others would soon have been required. iv. 91.

<sup>o</sup> Ambr. Ep. 20; Milman, iii. 248.

<sup>p</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. i. 4; iv. 1; Soz. vii. 13.

assumed the name of the former Arian bishop Auxentius,<sup>q</sup> in the presence of the emperor and some lay judges; but he boldly refused, on the ground that matters of faith ought not to be submitted to such a tribunal.<sup>r</sup> When Easter was again at hand, a fresh

demand was made for the church within the walls. With an allusion to the story of Naboth, Ambrose replied that he would not give up the inheritance of his fathers, the holy and orthodox bishops who had filled the see before him. On being ordered to leave the city, he refused to yield except to force, and his flock, in fear lest he should either withdraw or be carried off, anxiously guarded him—passing several nights in the church and the adjoining buildings, while the outlets were watched by the imperial soldiers. During these vigils Ambrose introduced, for the first time in the west, a mode of singing which had lately originated in somewhat similar circumstances at Antioch<sup>s</sup>—that, instead of leaving the psalmody to the choristers, the whole congregation should divide itself into two choirs, by which the chant was to be taken up alternately.<sup>t</sup>

The matter was still undecided, when Ambrose, on proceeding to complete the consecration of the church which had been the object of so much contention,<sup>u</sup> was requested by his people to use the same ceremonies as on a certain former occasion. He answered that he would do so if relics of saints should be found, and gave orders to dig up the pavement near the altar-rails in the church of St. Felix and St. Nabor; when two skeletons were discovered, of extraordinary size, “such as the olden

<sup>q</sup> Ambr. Sermo de Basilicis tradendis, 22, Patrol. xvi. 1014

<sup>r</sup> Ep. 21.

<sup>s</sup> Soc. vi. 8. See Suicer, s. v. ἀντίκληρον.

<sup>t</sup> Ep. 21, with the annexed sermon ‘De Basilicis tradendis;’ Aug. Conf. ix. 15; Bingham, XIV. i. 11; Guéranger, ‘Institutions Liturgiques,’ i. 101-5.

<sup>u</sup> Broglie, vi. 189.

time produced," with the heads separated from the bodies, and with a large quantity of fresh blood.<sup>x</sup> These relics, after having been exposed for two days, were deposited in the new church. Demoniacs who were brought near to them showed signs of great disturbance; some of the possessed declared that the bones were those of martyrs, and proclaimed their names, Gervasius and Protasius—names which had been utterly forgotten, but which old men were at length able to remember that they had heard in former days;<sup>y</sup> in other cases the demons cried out that all who refused to confess the true doctrine of the Trinity, as it was taught by Ambrose, would be tormented even as they themselves then were.<sup>z</sup> Other miracles are related as having been wrought by the touch of the cloth which covered the relics, and even by their shadow as they were carried along. The most noted was, that a butcher, well known in Milan, who had lost his sight, recovered it on touching the hem of the pall; and, as a witness to the cure, he became for the rest of his days sacristan of the church in which they were preserved. The general excitement was now such, that, although the Arians questioned and ridiculed the miracles,<sup>a</sup> Justina no longer ventured to press her claims against the bishop, who was supposed to have been distinguished by a Divine interposition in his behalf.<sup>b</sup>

<sup>x</sup> Ambr. Ep. xxii. 2, 12; Aug. Conf. ix. 16.

<sup>y</sup> Ambr. l. c. 12. See Acta SS., Jun. 18, pp. 680, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Ambr. l. c. 21.

<sup>a</sup> Ambr. ib. 17, 23.

<sup>b</sup> I have related this affair without making any comment on it in the text. But, even if the probability of a miracle, or of a series of miracles, on such an occasion be granted, there are serious difficulties in the way of receiving the narrative in its entirety, with Dr. Newman (Church of the

Fathers, chap. iii.; Essay on Miracles, pp. 185-200). Le Clerc, Mosheim (i. 352), Mr. Isaac Taylor ('Ancient Christianity,' etc. i. 475; ii. 258-71), and Mr. Henry Rogers (Essays, ii. 215-22) charge St. Ambrose with imposture. This accusation, indeed, must not be rejected without a due consideration of the very dangerous maxims which prevailed as to the lawfulness of using deceit for religious ends—a practice maintained by all the eminent teachers of the age, with the exception of St. Augustine, who held all

An apprehension of renewed danger from Maximus may perhaps have contributed to this result.<sup>c</sup>  
 A.D. 387. In the following year Ambrose was again sent to the court of Treves, with a commission to treat for the delivery of Gratian's body. He asserted in a remarkable manner the dignity of the episcopal character, but returned without effecting his object;<sup>d</sup> and soon after Maximus, in violation of his engagements, invaded the territories of Valentinian. The young emperor and his mother fled for protection to Theodosius, who in the summer of 388 marched westwards, defeated the usurper, who was given up by his own adherents, and was put to death; and for a time the victor fixed his residence at Milan.<sup>e</sup>

The power which Ambrose had exerted over the younger princes was no less felt by "the Great" Theodosius. Soon after his arrival at Milan the emperor was about to seat himself within that part of the cathedral which was appropriated to the clergy, when the arch-

falsehood to be unlawful for Christians. (See Chrysost. de Sacerdotio, i. 5; Cassian. Collat. xvii. 17, seqq.; Schröckh, ix. 343-58; Neander's Chrysostomus, i. 93-6; Giesel. I. ii. 307; Gilly's Vigilantius, 266-9, with the quotation from Coleridge, p. 269; and for Augustine, his book 'Contra Mendacium'; Dupin, iii. 227-8; Schröckh, xv. 319.) But even if we should venture to adopt the supposition of Le Clerc and his followers, the case is still encumbered with difficulties; nor have I met with any theory which will satisfactorily remove them all. (See Schröckh, ix. 214-17; Milman, iii. 253.) Without giving any opinion on the question, I may remark that the variations between the reports as to the finding of the relics will warrant us in making large deductions from similar stories on the grounds of exaggeration and imperfect testimony. St.

Augustine—who might be supposed an unexceptionable witness, since he was himself at Milan when the thing took place, while his mother was a zealous adherent of the archbishop—tells us (Confess. ix. 16) that the discovery was announced to Ambrose by a vision, and that the bodies had been preserved uncorrupted; whereas St. Ambrose himself mentions no other previous intimation than that he felt a glow (*ardor*) when the digging was begun, and it is clear from his narrative (Ep. 22) that the bodies were reduced to skeletons. [As to the case of the butcher, see Twisleton, 'The Tongue not essential to Speech,' pp. 206, seqq.] <sup>c</sup> Dupin, ii. 252.

<sup>d</sup> Ambr. Ep. 24; Tillem. x. 195; Schröckh, xiv. 235-7.

<sup>e</sup> Pacatus, Panegy. 43-4 (Patrol. xiii.); Soc. v. 14; Philostorg. x. 8; Gibbon, ii. 535-8.

bishop desired him to withdraw to a position at the head of the laity. Theodosius expressed thanks for the admonition, excused himself on the ground that at Constantinople the imperial seat was within the railings of the choir, and on his return to the east, astonished the more courtly clergy of his capital by introducing the practice of Milan.<sup>f</sup>

The zeal of Theodosius for unity of faith and worship among his subjects was encouraged and directed by Ambrose, who assumed a right A.D. 388. of moral control over the emperor's proceedings. On one occasion, at least, this influence appears to have been pushed beyond the bounds of equity. The Christians of Callinicum, in Mesopotamia, had destroyed a Jewish synagogue, and, in revenge for an insult offered to some monks, as they were on their way to keep a festival, had also burnt a Valentinian place of worship. Theodosius ordered that the bishop of the town, who had encouraged these proceedings, should restore the buildings, or pay the price of them. On hearing of the order, Ambrose wrote to the emperor by way of remonstrance, and, as his letter had no effect, he followed it up by a personal appeal in a sermon, maintaining that it was inconsistent with the duty of a Christian prince to sanction the employment of Christian funds for such purposes. Theodosius yielded, and recalled his sentence.<sup>g</sup> We may be inclined to wonder that Ambrose, if he failed to see the injustice of the position which he advanced, and its inconsistency with any sound principles of civil government, was yet not led to suspect its truth by the consideration that it would have warranted the oppression of a Christian minority by heathens, or of an orthodox

<sup>f</sup> Soc. v. 24. This incident is by some writers (as Theodoret, v. 18) im- probably connected with the *penance* of Theodosius. See Tillem. x. 218-19 ;

Schröckh, xiv. 256-7.

<sup>g</sup> Ambr. Ep. xl.-xli. ; Paulinus, 22, 3 ; Baron. 388. 82-92 ; Gibbon, ii. 546-7.

minority by heretics. But so far was he from feeling any misgiving on this account, that he even ventured to cite the destruction of churches under Julian, and the recent burning of the episcopal house at Constantinople by the Arians, as if these acts were sufficient precedents for a justification of the Mesopotamian outrages.<sup>h</sup>

An interposition of a more creditable nature followed. The most prominent defect in the noble and amiable character of Theodosius was a proneness to violent anger. That he could be merciful after great provocation was remarkably shown in his forgiveness of the people of Antioch, who in 387 rose in sedition on account of a tax, burnt some houses, and threw down the statues of the emperor, of his deceased wife, to whom he had been tenderly attached, and of other members of his family.<sup>i</sup> But in 390 his passion became the occasion of a fearful tragedy at Thessalonica. The populace of that city, on the occasion of a chariot-race, demanded the release of a favourite charioteer, whom Botheric, commander-in-chief of the district, had imprisoned for attempting an abominable crime; and on Botheric's refusal, they broke out into tumult, and murdered him with many of his soldiery and others. The emperor, although greatly exasperated by the report of the insurrection, promised, at the intercession of Ambrose, to pardon the Thessalonians; but his secular advisers, who regarded with great jealousy the influence of the bishop over his mind, were afterwards able, by insisting on the heinous character of the

<sup>h</sup> Ep. xl. 13-15. Tillemont (x. 200-1) appears to rely more on parallels than on arguments for the defence of Ambrose. Schröckh (vii. 391-3) is strongly against the archbishop. Comp. Bayle, art. *Abbas*, note C. Gregory the Great acted on a different principle in the matter of the Jews of Terracina (Epp. i. 10, 35), and in a similar case

at Palermo (ix. 55). "L'Église, disons-le, dans sa maternelle prudence, est loin d'avoir ratifié sur ces points délicats tous les anathèmes d'Ambroise," etc. Broglie, vi. 251.

<sup>i</sup> Soz. vii. 23; Theod. v. 20; Tillem. Emp. v. 263-80; Gibbon, ii. 545. See below, Book III. c. 1.



offence, to procure from him an order which was carefully kept secret from Ambrose. The people of Thessalonica were invited to a performance of games in the circus, and, while there assembled, were attacked by an overwhelming force of soldiers. Neither age nor sex was regarded; no distinction was made between guilty and innocent, citizen and stranger. For three hours an indiscriminate butchery was carried on, and at least seven thousand victims perished.<sup>k</sup>

The report of this massacre affected Ambrose with the deepest horror. Theodosius was then absent from Milan, and before his return the archbishop retired into the country, whence he wrote a letter,<sup>l</sup> exhorting him to repent, and declaring that, until due penance should be performed, he had been forbidden by God to offer the eucharistic sacrifice in the emperor's presence. The letter had its effect in convincing Theodosius of the guilt which he had incurred by allowing treacherous barbarity to take the place of justice. But this was not enough for Ambrose. As Theodosius was about to enter the Portian church, the archbishop met him in the porch; laying hold of his robe, he desired him to withdraw, as a man polluted with innocent blood; and when the emperor spoke of his contrition, Ambrose told him that private regrets were insufficient to expiate so grievous a wrong. Theodosius submitted and retired. For eight months he remained in penitential seclusion, laying aside all his imperial ornaments, until at the Christmas season he presented himself before the archbishop, and humbly entreated readmission into the church. Ambrose required, as a condition of his granting this, that some practical fruit of repentance should be shown; and the emperor consented to issue a law by which, in order to guard against

<sup>k</sup> This is the lowest estimate the number at more than 15,000.  
(Theod. v. 17). Some writers reckon Gibbon, ii. 545.

<sup>l</sup> Ep. 51.

the effects of sudden anger, the execution of all capital punishments was to be deferred until thirty days after the sentence.<sup>m</sup> Having thus gained the privilege of readmission into the communion of the faithful, Theodosius, on being allowed to enter the church, prostrated himself on the pavement with every demonstration of the deepest grief and humiliation; and Ambrose, in his funeral oration over the emperor, assures us that from that time he never passed a day without recalling to mind the crime into which he had been betrayed by his passion.<sup>n</sup>

The behaviour of Theodosius in this remarkable affair was evidently not the result of weakness or pusillanimity, but of a real feeling of his guilt—a sincere acknowledgment of a higher Power to which all worldly greatness is subject. In order to judge rightly of Ambrose's conduct, we must dismiss from our minds some recollections of later times, which may be very likely to intrude themselves. The archbishop appears to have been actuated by no other motive than a solemn sense of his duty. He felt the dignity with which his office invested him; he held himself bound, by interposing it in behalf of justice and humanity, to control the excesses of earthly power. His sternness towards the emperor has nothing in common with the assumptions of those who, in after ages, used the names of God and his church to cover their own pride and love of domination.

In the autumn of 391 Theodosius returned to the east, leaving Valentinian in possession, not only of his original dominions, but of those which had been ceded to Maximus after the murder of Gratian. Justina had died in 388, and from that time the young emperor was entirely under

<sup>m</sup> Cod. Theod. 1X. xl. 13.

<sup>n</sup> Ambr. in Obit. Theod. 34 (Patrol. xvi. 1395); Soz. vii. 24-5; Theod. v.

18; Baron. 390. 2-30; Tillem. x. 209.

15; Schröckh, xiv. 250-60; Gibbon, ii. 544-8 Milman, iii. 258, seqq.

the guidance of Ambrose.<sup>o</sup> In 392 he wrote from Vienne, urgently desiring the archbishop to visit him—partly in order to establish a better relation with the Frankish general Arbogast, who had been placed with him by Theodosius as a protector, but had begun to show symptoms of a dangerous ambition; and partly to administer the sacrament of baptism, which Valentinian, according to the custom of the time, had hitherto delayed to receive. Ambrose set out in obedience to the summons; but before his arrival, Valentinian May 15, had been murdered by the Frank.<sup>p</sup> Once 392. more Theodosius moved into the west, to put down the rhetorician Eugenius, whom Arbogast had raised to a nominal sovereignty. But within four months Jan. 17, after his victory he died at Milan—the last 395. emperor who fully maintained the dignity of the Roman name.<sup>q</sup> Ambrose survived him a little more than two years, and died on Easter eve, 397.<sup>r</sup>

II. Although paganism lost the ascendancy which it had possessed during the brief reign of Julian, it yet for a time enjoyed full toleration.<sup>s</sup> While barbarians threatened the empire, its rulers felt the inexpediency of irritating that large portion of their subjects which

<sup>o</sup> Tillem. x. 243.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 244; Hist. des Emp. v. 350. He was buried at Milan, and Ambrose preached a funeral sermon. "On this occasion," says Gibbon (ii. 551), "the humanity of Ambrose tempted him to make a singular breach in his theological system, and to comfort the weeping sisters of Valentinian by the firm assurance, that their pious brother, though he had not received the sacrament of baptism, was introduced, without difficulty, into the mansions of eternal bliss." Surely there is nothing incon-

sistent with Ambrose's system in arguing, as he here does (*De Obitu Valent.* 51-3), that a person who was cut off by a violent death, while preparing for baptism and earnestly desiring it, might be judged of in the same way as those who were martyred in their catechumenate. See Bingham, vol. ii. p. 275 (*Lett. I. on Absolution*).

<sup>q</sup> Gibbon, ii. 539-40.

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. x. 365; Pagi in Baron. vi 240.

<sup>s</sup> Amm. Marcell. xxx. 9; Neand iii. 96-9; Beugnot, i. 233.

adhered to the old religion. Valentinian and his brother, indeed, carried on a searching inquiry after the practice of magical arts, and punished those concerned in it severely—in many cases with death.<sup>t</sup> But the edicts on this subject were only renewals of earlier laws;<sup>u</sup> and the motive of them was not religious but political, inasmuch as the practices of divination and theurgy were connected with speculations and intrigues as to matters of state. These practices were carried on, not by the ignorant vulgar alone, but by members of the old Roman aristocracy, and by the high philosophic party which had been powerful under Julian; and many persons both of the aristocratic and of the philosophical classes were among the victims of Valentinian's laws.<sup>x</sup> The consultation of the aruspices for innocent purposes was, however, still allowed.<sup>y</sup> Guards of soldiers were allowed to protect the temples, although Christians were exempt from this service.<sup>z</sup> Valentinian even endowed the priesthood with privileges exceeding those which they had received from his heathen predecessors, and in some respects greater than those which the Christians enjoyed;<sup>a</sup> and the orthodox subjects of Valens complained that, while they themselves were subjected to banishment and disabilities on account of their faith, the heathens were freely allowed to practise all the rites of their idolatry—

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvi. 7-8; Amm. Marc. xxix. 2. Magical books were condemned to destruction, and many works of other kinds unhappily perished through being confounded with them. Schröckh, vii. 31.

<sup>u</sup> Beugnot, i. 244.

<sup>x</sup> Among them was the philosopher Maximus (see p. 339), who was especially obnoxious because, in the reign of Julian, he had denounced Valentinian as disrespectful to the gods. (Zosim. iv. 1, 2, 15; Eunap. Vita Maximi, pp. 479-80, ed. Boissonade,

Paris, 1849; Baron. 364. 17; 370. 99-102; Tillem. Emp. v. 6-10, 110; Gibbon, ii. 389, 394-7; Beugnot, i. 247, seqq.; Milman, iii. 112-18). St. Chrysostom gives a remarkable account of the danger which he himself and a friend incurred by finding a book of magic floating down the Orontes. Hom. 28 in Acta Apost. (t. ix. pp. 293-4, ed. Montf.).

<sup>y</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xvi. 9.

<sup>z</sup> Ib. XVI. i. 1.

<sup>a</sup> Schröckh, vii. 203; Beugnot, 234.

even the impure and frantic worship of Bacchus.<sup>b</sup> In 364 Valentinian forbade nocturnal sacrifices; but on receiving a representation that the Greeks would consider life intolerable if they were deprived of their mysteries, he exempted these from the operation of his law.<sup>c</sup> At a later period, Valentinian and Valens were induced by political causes to prohibit all animal sacrifices; yet the other rites of heathen worship were still permitted, and at Rome and Alexandria, where paganism was strong, the edict was not enforced.<sup>d</sup>

Under Theodosius and the contemporary emperors of the west there was a more decided movement for the suppression of paganism. In 381, and again in 385, Theodosius renewed the laws against sacrifices.<sup>e</sup> In 386 he sent Cynegius, the prefect of the east, into Egypt, with a commission to shut up the temples.<sup>f</sup> But while the law spared the buildings themselves, the zeal of Christians very often exceeded it. So long as the temples were standing, they alarmed one party with the apprehension, and flattered the other with the hope, that a second Julian might arise.<sup>g</sup> In order to remove the occasion of such feelings, many temples were destroyed, and in some cases it was alleged by way of pretext (whether truly or otherwise) that sacrifice had been illegally offered in them.<sup>h</sup> The work of demolition was chiefly incited or executed by monks; in countries where these did not abound—such as Greece—the splendid monuments of heathen architecture were allowed to remain, whether disused, employed as churches, or con-

<sup>b</sup> Soc iv. 16; Theodoret, iv. 24; v. 31. Many inscriptions show how members of the aristocracy prided themselves on bearing priestly titles, especially in connexion with the worship of oriental deities. Reumont, i. 708.

<sup>c</sup> Zosim. iv. 2; Beugnot, i. 244.

<sup>d</sup> Libanius de Templis, ed. Reiske, t. ii. pp. 163, 180-1.

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. x. 7, 9.

<sup>f</sup> Zosim. iv. 37; Idatius, A.D. 388 (Patrol. lxxiv.); Beugnot, i. 360.

<sup>g</sup> Gibbon, iii. 10.

<sup>h</sup> Neand. iii. 104.

verted to secular purposes.<sup>1</sup> The celebrated sophist Libanius composed a plea for the temples, which has the form of a speech addressed to the emperor, although it was probably neither delivered before him, nor even presented to him in writing.<sup>k</sup> The orator complains of black-garbed men, more voracious than elephants, and insatiably thirsty, although veiling their sensuality under an artificial paleness; that, although the law forbade no part of paganism except bloody sacrifices, these monks went about committing acts of outrage and plunder; that they treated the priests with violence; that they even seized lands under the pretence that they had been connected with illegal rites; and that, if appeal were made to "the shepherds in the cities" (*i.e.* the bishops), the complainants, instead of obtaining any redress, were told that they had been only too gently treated. He traces all the calamities of the time to the change of religion. He appeals to the New Testament precepts in proof that the forcible measures of the Christians were contrary to the spirit which their own faith inculcated. He endeavours to alarm the superstition of his readers, by saying that the service of the ancient deities was still kept up in Egypt, because the Christians themselves feared to risk the fertility of the country by suppressing it.<sup>1</sup>

In no long time this last assertion was put to the test. Theophilus, bishop of Alexandria, a violent man, whose name will be often mentioned hereafter, obtained from the emperor a grant of a temple of Bacchus, and intended to build a church on the site of it. In the course of digging for the foundation of

<sup>1</sup> Gibbon, iii. 11; Giesel. I. ii. 25; Beugnot, i. 361; Milman, iii. 161.

<sup>k</sup> Reiske dates this in 390 (Liban. ii. 154-5), others in 384. See Tillem. Emp. v. 232-3; Neand. iii. 107

Milman, n. on Gibbon, iii. 10; Broglie, vi. 100-7.

<sup>1</sup> Lib. ed. Reiske, t. ii. pp. 164, 168-9, 182-3, 186.



the new building, some indecent symbols used in the worship of Bacchus were found, and these were publicly paraded in mockery of the religion to which they belonged. The pagans, exasperated by this insult to their faith, rose in insurrection, killed a number of Christians, and shut themselves up in the temple of Serapis, which with its precincts formed a vast pile of building, towering over the city, and was regarded as one of the wonders of the world.<sup>m</sup> They made sallies from time to time, slew some Christians, and carried off many prisoners, whom they either compelled to sacrifice, or, in case of refusal, subjected to cruel tortures; some of the prisoners were even put to death by crucifixion. On receiving a report of the matter from the governor of Alexandria, the emperor answered that, as the Christians who had been slain were martyrs, those who had been concerned in their death were not to be punished, but rather, if possible, were to be attracted to the true faith by clemency; but he ordered that the temples of Alexandria should be destroyed. The Serapeum was deserted by its defenders, who had been induced by the governor to attend the public reading of the imperial rescript, and on hearing the sentence against the temples had fled in consternation. The idol of Serapis, the tutelary deity of the city, was of enormous size, and was adorned with jewels and with plates of gold and silver. There was a popular belief that, if it were injured, heaven and earth would go to wreck; and even Christians looked on with anxiety when a soldier, mounting a ladder, raised his axe against the figure. But when it was seen that with impunity he first struck off a cheek, and then cleft one of the knees, the spell was at an end. The head of the god was thrown down, and a swarm of rats rushed forth

<sup>m</sup> Amm. Marc. xxii. 16; Gibbon iii. 13; Broglie, vi. 289.

from it, exciting the disgust and derision of the crowd.<sup>n</sup> The idol was soon broken into pieces, which were dragged into the amphitheatre and burnt. On examining the temple, a discovery was made of infamies by which it had been polluted, and of tricks by which the priests had imposed on the credulity of the worshippers;<sup>o</sup> and in consequence of this exposure many persons were converted to the church. The pagan party, however, began to exult when it was found that the rising of the Nile was that year delayed beyond its usual time. The emperor was consulted: "Better," he answered, "that it should not rise at all, than we should buy the fertility of Egypt by idolatry." At length the river swelled to a more than ordinary height, and the pagans began to hope that Serapis would avenge himself by an inundation; but they soon had the mortification of seeing the waters subside to their proper level. The temple of the god was demolished, and a church was built on its site, while the other buildings of the Serapeum were preserved.<sup>p</sup> In obedience to the emperor's command, the temples were destroyed at Alexandria and throughout Egypt. The statues were burnt or melted down, with the exception of one, which, we are told, Theophilus preserved as an evidence against paganism, lest the adherents of that system should afterwards deny that they had worshipped objects so contemptible.<sup>q</sup>

The old religion was more powerful in the west than in the east. Most of the high Roman families clung to it—not, apparently, from any real conviction of its truth,

<sup>n</sup> Minucius Felix had argued against heathenism from the liberties which birds, etc., took with the images of the gods. Octavius, c. 24. Cf. Baruch, vi. 22.

<sup>o</sup> As to such things, see Döllinger, 'Heidenth. u. Judenth.' 644-8.

<sup>p</sup> Matter, 'Écoles d'Alexandrie,' ii.

321, seqq.

<sup>q</sup> Eunap. Vit. Ædesii, p. 472, ed. Boissonade, Par. 1849; Rufin. ii. 22-30; Soc. v. 16, 20; Soz. vii. 15; Theod. v. 22; Gibbon, iii. 13-16. Socrates says that the excepted statue was that of Jupiter; others, that it was a monkey. Tillem. Emp. v. 322.

but from a feeling of pride in maintaining the traditions of their ancestors, and from unwillingness to undertake the labour of inquiry. A profession of paganism was no bar to the attainment of high offices in the state; and with these the Roman nobles, like their forefathers, ambitiously sought to combine the dignities of the pagan hierarchy.<sup>f</sup> In the capital a vast number of temples and of smaller religious edifices was still devoted to the ancient worship;<sup>g</sup> while in the rural districts of Italy the system was maintained by the connexion of its deities with every incident in the round of agricultural labour. Bishops are found reproaching the Christian landowners with the indifference which, disregarding everything but money, allowed the population of their estates to continue in the undisturbed practice of idolatry.<sup>h</sup> Throughout the western provinces generally, the old barbarian religions prevailed in some places; the worship of the Roman gods in others.<sup>i</sup> From the fact that the foundation of many bishopricks in the west is traced to the period between the years 350 and 380, it has been inferred that an organized attack on paganism was then first attempted in those regions.<sup>x</sup>

Gratian, in his earlier years, maintained the principle of religious equality; but the influence of St. Ambrose afterwards produced an important change in his policy, so that this young emperor inflicted heavier blows on paganism than any which his predecessors had ventured to attempt.<sup>y</sup> There was in the senate-house at Rome

<sup>f</sup> Beugnot, i. 342-3, 395, 411.

<sup>g</sup> See the 'Notitia Urbis,' in Patol. xviii. 450, seqq. Gibbon says 424 (iii. 4). M. de Beugnot (i. 266) reckons up 152 temples and 183 chapels. But, on the one hand, we cannot know how many lesser buildings were contained in the great *ædes*; on the other, what number of the edifices were then in actual use. Ib. 268.

<sup>h</sup> E.g. Zeno of Verona, I. xv. 6 (Patrol. xi. 365-9); Gaudentius of Brescia, Sermon. 13 (ib. xx. 940); Beugnot, i. 283-90.

<sup>i</sup> See Beugnot, i. 290, seqq.

<sup>x</sup> Beugnot, i. 318; who supposes that a break in an episcopal line denotes a temporary local ascendancy of paganism, i. 282.

<sup>y</sup> Beugnot, i. 326.

an altar of Victory, erected after the battle of Actium, at which the senators took the oath of fidelity to the emperor and the laws, and on which libations and incense were offered at the beginning of every meeting.<sup>a</sup> The removal of this altar was the only considerable act by which Constantius had interfered with the religion of the capital;<sup>b</sup> but it was restored by Julian, and continued to hold its place until in 382 Gratian ordered that it should be again removed. A body of senators, headed by Symmachus, the most eloquent orator of his time—a man of eminent personal character, and distinguished by the highest civil and religious offices,<sup>c</sup>—proceeded to Milan for the purpose of requesting that the altar might be replaced. But the Christian party in the senate had already prepossessed the emperor's mind by means of Damasus and Ambrose; and he refused to see the envoys.<sup>d</sup> At the same time he deprived the temples of their lands, withdrew from them all public funds, rendered it illegal to bequeath real property to them, and stripped the vestals and heathen priests of the religious and civil privileges which they had enjoyed.<sup>e</sup> Then perhaps it may have been, and with the hope of effectually appealing to his feelings, that a deputation of the priesthood displayed before him the robe of the Pontifex Maximus—a dignity which had been held by all his predecessors, as well since as before the conversion of Constantine. But Gratian rejected it as unbefitting a Christian.<sup>f</sup>

<sup>a</sup> Gibbon, iii. 4; Beugnot, i. 410. For the history of this statue, see Merivale, iii. 403; Reumont, i. 171.

<sup>b</sup> "Divi Constantii factum diu non stetit," says Symmachus (*Relatio*, 5, *Patrol.* xvi. 967). M. de Broglie supposes that the altar was not removed, but was only veiled during the stay of Constantius at Rome, and was displayed again after his departure. vi. 23.

<sup>c</sup> See *Patrol.* xxviii. (where his works

are printed) 14-16; Beugnot, i. viii. c. 7; Ozanam, i. 137; Broglie, vi. 58-60.

<sup>d</sup> Ambros. *Ep.* xvii. 10; Schröckh, vii. 51-2.

<sup>e</sup> Honorius refers to this edict, *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 20. See too the pleadings of Symmachus and Ambrose; Ambros. *de Obitu Valentiniani*, 19-20; Tillem. *Emp.* vii. 169-70; Beugnot, i. 328; Broglie, vi. 24.

<sup>f</sup> Zosim. iv. 36. See Schröckh, vii.

In 384 a fresh attempt was made on the young Valentinian. Symmachus again appeared at Milan as the chief of a deputation, and delivered to the emperor an eloquent written pleading on behalf of the altar of Victory and of the old religion.<sup>g</sup> He drew a distinction between the emperor's personal conviction and the duty of his position as ruler of a state which for centuries had worshipped the gods of paganism. He dwelt on the omens connected with the name of Victory, and traced the famines, wars, and other calamities of recent years to the anger of the gods on account of the withholding of their dues. He urged that it was an unworthy act to withdraw the funds by which the pagan worship had been maintained. He personified Rome addressing the emperor as a mother, reminding him of her ancient glories, and professing herself unable to learn any other religion than that by which she had acquired her greatness.

Ambrose, who, on hearing of the application of the pagan party, had written to the emperor,<sup>h</sup> earnestly exhorting him to refuse it, followed up his letter by a formal and elaborate reply to Symmachus.<sup>i</sup> He argued that it was unlawful for a Christian sovereign to countenance a system which he must believe to be hateful to God. It would, he said, be a wrong to the Christian senators if they were compelled to take a part in the sacrifices to Victory; and they must be considered as

206; eugnot, i. 329-30; Giesel. I. ii. 24. The refusal of the robe is more commonly placed in the beginning of the reign, and it is said, on the evidence of coins, etc., that Gratian nevertheless retained the title of Pontifex Maximus. (Neand. iii. 100.) But Beugnot (i. 341) and Gieselser show that there is no proof of his having held the title after refusing the robe, and that *both* were probably rejected in his later days. The view of Tillemont (Emp. v. 138-9) and other

older writers,—that the title, though *given* to the earlier Christian emperors, was not *accepted* by them,—appears to be unfounded. On the retention of the pontificate by Christian emperors, see the remarks of M. de Broglie, v. 294-9 (who refers Gratian's refusal to the beginning of his reign).

<sup>g</sup> See Symm. Ep. x. 61, or Ambro in Patrol. xvi. 966.

<sup>h</sup> Ep. xvii.

<sup>i</sup> Ep. xvi.

sharing in the acts of the senate, whether they were personally present at its meetings or not. He met the plea as to the misfortunes of the empire by referring to those of princes who had professed idolatry. The ancient glories of Rome (he said) could not have been derived from the worship of the gods; for her conquered enemies had been of the same religion. Her hoary age would become not less venerable, but more so, by her embracing the truth of the gospel. Christianity had grown under oppression, whereas paganism, according to the statement of its own advocates, depended for its very life on the endowments and emoluments of the priesthood. Heathenism found a difficulty in keeping up the number of its seven vestals, notwithstanding the high privileges attached to the order, whereas multitudes of Christian women had voluntarily chosen a virgin life of poverty and mortification. And what deeds of charity had heathenism to produce against the maintenance of the needy, the redemption of captives, and other such things which were the daily work of Christians?

In reading these rival pleadings, we cannot but be struck by the remarkable contrast in tone between the apologetic diffidence of Symmachus and the triumphant assurance of Ambrose, who in his previous letter had gone so far as to tell the emperor that, if he made the required concession to idolatry, the church would reject him and his offerings.<sup>k</sup> The cause of paganism is rested, not on the truth of doctrine, but on an appeal to historical and patriotic associations. It is evident that, apart from all consideration of the value of their respective arguments, the Christian champion has already in reality gained his cause, and that the petition of Symmachus must be—as it proved to be—unsuccessful.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Ep. xvii. 14. He refers to it again, Ep. lvii. 2.

<sup>1</sup> See Reumont, i. 709. It was, however, circulated as the manifesto



The pagan party next applied to Theodosius, when in Italy after the death of Maximus. The emperor was at first inclined to yield, but <sup>A.D. 389.</sup> Ambrose swayed him as he had swayed the younger princes.<sup>m</sup> Once more a pagan deputation was sent to Valentinian in Gaul, when he was at a distance both from his colleague and from the archbishop; but this attempt was also a failure.<sup>n</sup>

In 392, an important law was issued by Theodosius for the whole empire. With an elaborate specification it includes all persons of every rank and in every place. Sacrifice and divination, even although performed without any political object, are to be regarded as treasonable, and to be capitally punished. The use of lights, incense, garlands, or libations, and other such lesser acts of idolatry, are to involve the forfeiture of the houses or lands where they are committed. Heavy fines, graduated according to the position of the offenders, are denounced against those who should enter temples; if magistrates should offend in this respect, and their officers do not attempt to prevent them, the officers are also to be fined.<sup>o</sup>

It is probable that the severity of this enactment may have contributed to swell the party of Eugenius, whom the pagans hailed as a deliverer.<sup>p</sup> Whether he himself apostatized is uncertain; but his <sup>A.D. 392-4.</sup> master, Arbogast, was avowedly a pagan, and during the short period of the rhetorician-emperor's power, the altar of Victory was replaced, the rites of the old religion were revived in all their completeness, and the con-

of the pagan party, and Prudentius thought it deserving of a poetical answer in two books. *Patrol.* lx. 111, seqq.; Arevalo, *ib.* lix. 614; Ozanam, 'Civil. Chrétienne au 5<sup>m</sup>e Siècle,' ii. 249.

<sup>m</sup> *Ambr. Ep.* lvii. 4.

<sup>n</sup> *Ib.* 5; *Beugnot*, i. 434.

<sup>o</sup> *Cod. Theod.* XVI. x. 12.

<sup>p</sup> *Beugnot*, i. 406-9. M. de Beugnot supposes, but only by way of conjecture, that the usurper Maximus had before been supported by the pagans. i. 399.

fiscated property of the temples was restored.<sup>q</sup> It has been said that Theodosius, on visiting Rome after the defeat of Eugenius, referred the choice between Christianity and paganism to the vote of the senate, and that the gospel was adopted by a majority;<sup>r</sup> but the story is exceedingly improbable,<sup>s</sup> and is perhaps no more than an exaggeration founded on some discussion which took place at Milan between the emperor and a deputation of the senate.<sup>t</sup>

To speak of the age of Theodosius as having witnessed the "ruin" and the "total extinction" of paganism<sup>u</sup> is much beyond the truth. The adherents of the old religion, although debarred from the exercise of its rites, were still allowed to enjoy perfect freedom of thought, and the dignities of the state were open to them.<sup>x</sup> The execution of the laws against it was very partial; as they were exceeded where the Christian party was strong, so where that party was weak they were not enforced,<sup>y</sup> and in some cases the very magistrates to whom they were addressed were pagans.<sup>z</sup> At Rome, the emperor himself was complimented, like his predecessors, by being enrolled among the gods at his death.<sup>a</sup> The statues of the gods were not destroyed;

<sup>q</sup> Ambr. Ep. lvii. ; Beugnot, i. 436; Giesel. I. ii. 29.

<sup>r</sup> Prudent. c. Symmach. i. 609-16; Zosimus, iv. 5, 9; v. 38 (who, however, says that the senators were all against the change, and that Theodosius enforced it).

<sup>s</sup> (1) It is all but certain that Theodosius did not visit Rome at the time in question (Pagi in Baron. vi. 185)—a difficulty which has led some writers (among them, M. de Broglie, vi. 286, who, however, thinks the story exaggerated) to refer the incident to his visit after the defeat of Maximus, A.D. 388-9. (Tillem. Emp. v. 304; Gibbon, iii. 7-8.) (2) The question was too

important to be entrusted to the senate of those days, when that body had become insignificant (3) A prince so zealous as Theodosius would hardly have left it to the risk of a vote. See these and other objections in Beugnot, i. 484-7. Comp. Arevalo in Patol. lix. 615; lx. 171; Milman, n. on Gibbon, iii. 7; Neand. iii. 111; Giesel. I. ii. 29.

<sup>t</sup> Beugnot, i. 487; Comp. Tillem. Emp. v. 393.

<sup>u</sup> Gibbon, iii. 7.

<sup>x</sup> Ibid. 20-1.

<sup>y</sup> Beugnot, i. 362-3, 394.

<sup>z</sup> Broglie, vi. 329-30.

<sup>a</sup> See Claudian de Tert. Consul. Honorii, 162, seqq.; Beugnot, 487-8.

that of Victory was still allowed to remain in the senate-house, although the altar which had been the subject of contention was removed.<sup>b</sup> But yet the old system was evidently doomed. Its remaining strength was not in belief but in habit. The withdrawal of public funds told on it to a degree which would have been impossible if there had been any principle of life in it. The priests, when attacked, succumbed in a manner which indicated an utter want of faith and zeal. Although paganism was common among men of letters, no one of these attempted theological controversy; their efforts in behalf of their religion did not reach beyond pleadings for toleration.<sup>c</sup> St. Jerome speaks of the temples at Rome about this time as left to neglect, disorder, and decay.<sup>d</sup>

III. Among those of his subjects who professed Christianity, Theodosius was resolved to establish unity of religion. Immediately after the conclusion July 30, of the general council of Constantinople, he 381. ordered that all churches should be given up to the catholics, that no meetings of heretics should be held, and that no buildings should be erected for such meetings.<sup>e</sup> In 383 he summoned a conference of bishops of all parties, with the hope of bringing them to an agreement;<sup>f</sup> but the difference of creeds was found

<sup>b</sup> Reumont, i. 711.

<sup>c</sup> Gibbon, iii. 19; Schröckh, vii. 222-3.

<sup>d</sup> Ep. cvii. 1-2. Gregorovius, however, on the authority of Claudian (in *Consulat. VI. Honorii*, 42, seqq.) thinks that Jerome and Augustine exaggerate the amount of this. i. 61-4.

<sup>e</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. i. 3.

<sup>f</sup> Soc. v. 10; Soz. vii. 12. An incident which Sozomen (vii. 6) connects with the first arrival of Theodosius at Constantinople is supposed by Baronius (383. 31) and Tillemont (vi. 627, 802)

to belong to the time of this conference. The catholics, it is said, were afraid lest the emperor should admit Eunomius to an interview, and should be won by the heretic's specious discourse. While things were in this state, the bishops went to pay their respects at court. One of them, who is described by Sozomen as an old and homely man, bishop of an inconsiderable town, after having saluted Theodosius with great reverence, turning to the heir of the empire, Arcadius, who had lately been declared Augustus, stroked his

irreconcilable, and in the same year the emperor issued fresh edicts against the Arians. During the remaining years of the reign, frequent laws<sup>g</sup> were directed against heresy—a term which was now no longer restricted to the denial of the leading doctrines of the faith, but was applied also to lesser errors of doctrine and to separation from the communion of the church.<sup>h</sup> The especial objects of the emperor's animosity were Arians, Eunomians, Macedonians, Apollinarians, and Manichæans. By various enactments, he deprived these sectaries of all right to assemble for worship either in cities or in the country; he confiscated all places in which they should hold meetings; he rendered them incapable of inheriting or bequeathing property, and inflicted other civil disabilities; he forbade them to dispute on religion; he

head, and spoke to him as if he were a boy of ordinary rank. The emperor, indignant at this disrespect, ordered that the bishop should be turned out; whereupon the old man told him that even so would the Heavenly Father be offended with those who refuse to his Son the honour which they pay to himself. Theodosius begged the bishop's forgiveness, and the Arians were kept at a distance. Theodoret places this after the defeat of Maximus, and names Amphilochius, of Iconium, as the bishop in question (v. 16). Valois (n. on Soz. vii. 6) and Tillemont (vi. 627) point out that Sozomen's description does not suit Amphilochius or his see. "Yet," says Gibbon (ii. 517), "I must take leave to think that both Amphilochius and Iconium were objects of inconsiderable magnitude in the Roman empire." But objects which appeared inconsiderable to the English historian in the 18th century, may have been very differently esteemed by the old Byzantine writer. It seems more likely either that Sozomen erred in describing the bishop, or that Theodoret erred in naming him, than that

their accounts should relate to two different affairs—as Valois (*loc. cit.*) and Schröckh (xii. 67-70) appear to suppose.

<sup>g</sup> Theodosius published fifteen such edicts in the same number of years (A.D. 381-394). Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 6, seqq.

<sup>h</sup> The so-called 6th canon of the council of Constantinople (see above, p. 377, n. <sup>g</sup>) includes among heretics "those who, although professing a sound faith, form congregations separate from the canonical bishops"; and a law of Arcadius, A.D. 395, those who "*vel levi argumento a iudicio Catholicæ religionis et tramite detecti fuerint deviare.*" (Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 38). In earlier times, the catholics sought to bring home some heretical doctrine to schismatics; now, schism was itself heresy (Schröckh. ix. 311-12; Planck, i. 465). The orthodoxy of the Novatianists and of the Luciferians, however, still procured for the remnants of these sects an exemption from the severity of the new edicts. Tillemont. *Emp.* v. 470, 716.

condemned those who should either confer or receive sectarian ordination to pay a penalty of ten pounds weight of gold—equal to about 400*l.* of our money.<sup>i</sup> Against some classes of heretics he denounced confiscation and banishment; the “elect” of the Manichæans were even sentenced to death.<sup>k</sup>

Repulsive as such legislation is to the feelings of those who have learnt to acknowledge the impossibility of enforcing religious belief, the effect in a great measure answered the emperor’s expectations. Neither heathenism nor sectarianism had much inward strength to withstand the pressure of the laws which required conformity to the church. Crowds of proselytes flocked in, and, amidst the satisfaction of receiving these accessions, it was little asked whether in very many cases the apparent conversion were anything better than a mask for hypocrisy or indifference.<sup>l</sup>

It would seem that the severest edicts of Theodosius were intended only to terrify, and were never actually executed.<sup>m</sup> But the example of inflicting death as the punishment of religious error had already been given in that part of the empire which was subject to the usurper Maximus.

Priscillian was a Spaniard—well-born, rich, learned, eloquent, and skilled in disputation. His doctrines were partly derived through Elpidius, a rhetorician, and Agape, a lady of rank,<sup>n</sup> from an Egyptian named Mark, who had travelled into Spain.<sup>o</sup> They are described as a compound of various heresies—Manichæism, Gnosticism,

<sup>i</sup> Gibbon, ii. 525.

<sup>k</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. v. 9, where they are styled *encratitæ*, *saccophori*, and *ydoparastatæ*.

<sup>l</sup> Soz. vii. 20; Tillem. ix. 441.

<sup>m</sup> Gibbon, ii. 526; Schröckh, xii. 61;

Planck, i. 465; Milman, iii. 408-11.

<sup>n</sup> See Matter, iii. 36-8, as to the part which women played in the formation of gnostic sects.

<sup>o</sup> Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 46.

Arianism, Photinianism, and Sabellianism—to which was added the practice of astrology and magic.<sup>p</sup> That Priscillian held a dualistic principle appears certain.<sup>q</sup> He admitted the whole canon of Scripture, but by means of allegory, or by altering the text, overcame the difficulties of such parts as did not agree with his system; and like some of the gnostic parties in an earlier age, he relied mainly on some apocryphal writings.<sup>r</sup> His followers are said to have regarded falsehood as allowable for the purpose of concealing their real tenets;<sup>s</sup> they attended the churches, and received the eucharistic elements, but did not consume them.<sup>t</sup> Priscillian's precepts were rigidly ascetic; he prescribed separation for married persons; but, like other heresiarchs, he is charged with secretly teaching sensuality and impurity.<sup>u</sup>

It was about the year 378 that the progress of Priscillianism, especially among the female sex, began to attract notice,<sup>x</sup> and in 380-1 it was condemned by a council of Spanish and Aquitanian bishops at Saragossa. Two bishops, however, Salvian and Instantius, took part with Priscillian, and, being reinforced by Hyginus of Cordova, who had once been a vehement opponent of his views, they consecrated him to the see of Avila.<sup>y</sup> The opposite party appealed to the secular power, and, by order of Gratian, the heresiarch and his consecrators

<sup>p</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 46; Aug. adv. Hæres. 70; Leo, Ep. 15, init.; Tillem. viii. 491-2; Walch, iii. 432, 461-9, 475-9; Neand. iv. 498-500; Matter, iii. 96. M. Matter infers from a comparison of Sulp. Severus with St. Jerome, that the so-called *magic* was rather *magianism*. p. 97.

<sup>q</sup> Walch, iii. 462; Matter, iii. 99.

<sup>r</sup> Aug. Hær. 70; Matter, iii. 99.

<sup>s</sup> Tillem. viii. 495. See Schlegel in Mosh. i. 412; Schröckh, xi. 316; Neand. iv. 501. Augustine's treatise,

'Contra Mendacium,' was written against some catholics who were for imitating the falsehoods of the Priscillianists and detecting them by pretending to join the sect. See c. 2.

<sup>t</sup> Can. Cæsaraug. iii. ap. Hard. i. 806.

<sup>u</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 48; Aug. Hær. 70; Walch, iii. 467; Gibbon, ii. 527; Matter, iii. 104-5.

<sup>x</sup> Tillem. viii. 498. See Walch, iii.

87.

<sup>y</sup> Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 47.



were banished from Spain.<sup>z</sup> With the hope of obtaining a reversal of this sentence, Priscillian set out for Rome in company with Salvian and Instantius. In their progress through Aquitania they gained many proselytes, especially at the episcopal city of Elusa (Eauze). At Bordeaux the bishop prevented their entrance into the town, but they found a welcome in the neighbourhood from Euchrotia, the widow of a distinguished poet and orator named Delphidius ; and as they moved onwards they were attended by her, with her daughter Procula, and a numerous train of female converts.<sup>a</sup> On arriving at Rome they were unable to obtain an audience of Damasus, and there Salvian died. His companions returning northward, found themselves opposed at Milan by the influence of Ambrose ; but by means of bribes and solicitations to persons in high office, they procured from Gratian an order for their restoration to their sees. The proconsul of Spain was won by similar means, and Ithacius and Idacius, the leaders of the opposite party, were banished from that country as disturbers of the public peace.<sup>b</sup>

During the remainder of Gratian's reign, Ithacius, a bold and able man, but of sensual and worldly habits,<sup>c</sup> found himself unable to contend against the corruption by which the Priscillianists influenced the court. When, however, his case appeared desperate, fresh hopes were excited by the report that Maximus had been proclaimed in Britain ; and, when the usurper was established at Treves, after the murder of Gratian, Ithacius brought the question before him. Maximus referred it to a council, which was held at Bordeaux. By this assembly Instantius was first heard, and was con-

<sup>z</sup> Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 47 ; Walch, iii. 390-2.

<sup>a</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 48 ; Tillem. viii. 502 ; Bayle, art. *Priscillian*, n. C.

<sup>b</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 48 ; Tillem. viii. 503-4.

<sup>c</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 50 ; Bayle, art. *Priscillian*, n. D.

demned ; whereupon Priscillian, when required to defend himself, appealed to the emperor, and the council allowed the appeal.<sup>d</sup>

Priscillian and his accusers repaired to Treves, where Martin, bishop of Tours, the "apostle of the Gauls"—famed for his sanctity, his miracles, and his successful exertions against idolatry<sup>e</sup>—arrived about the same time. Martin repeatedly implored Ithacius to desist from prosecuting the heretics before a secular tribunal, on which Ithacius told him that he too was a Priscillianite. Martin also represented to the emperor that the trial of an ecclesiastical offence before secular judges was unexampled, and entreated that the matter might be settled in the usual way, by the deposition of the leading heretics from their sees, according to the ecclesiastical condemnation which had been passed on them.<sup>f</sup> His influence was powerful enough to delay the trial while he remained at Treves ; and on taking leave of Maximus he obtained a promise that the lives of the accused should be safe.<sup>g</sup> But the usurper was afterwards induced—it is said, by the hope of seizing on Priscillian's property—to depart from this resolution.<sup>h</sup> The heretics were brought to trial, and by the use of torture were wrought to a confession of impure doctrines and practices.<sup>i</sup> Ithacius, after having urged on the prosecution with great bitterness until the case was virtually decided, devolved the last formal part of the work on a lay advocate—pro-

<sup>d</sup> "Permissumque id nostrorum inconstantia, qui aut sententiam in refragantem ferre debuerant, aut, si ipsi suspecti habebantur, aliis episcopis audientiam reservare, non causam imperatori de tam manifestis criminibus permittere." Sulp. Sev. ii. 49.

<sup>e</sup> See Sulp. Severus, 'Vita Martini,' and Dialogues ; also Tillem. x. 310, seqq.

<sup>f</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 50. "Benignidad,"

says the Jesuit Mariana, "que debia ser á proposito de aquel tempo, pero que la experiencia y mejor conocimiento de las cosas ha declarado sería perjudicial para el nuestro." i. 227.

<sup>g</sup> Walch, iii. 399 ; Schröckh, xi 324-5.

<sup>h</sup> Pacatus, Paneg. in Theodosium, 29 (Patrol. xiii. 504) ; Neand. iv. 494.

<sup>i</sup> Maximus ad Siricium, Patrol. xiii. 592 ; Sulp. Sev. ii. 50.

fessing that his own episcopal character forbade him to proceed in a cause of blood. Priscillian, Euchrotia, and five of their companions were condemned to death and were beheaded. Instantius was banished to the Scilly islands, and others of the party were sentenced to banishment or confiscation.<sup>k</sup>

A.D. 385.  
Martin again visited the court of Maximus in order to plead for the lives of some of Gratian's officers, at a time when a number of bishops were assembled for the consecration of Felix to the see of Treves. These bishops, with only one exception, freely communicated with the instigators of the late proceedings, who, fearing the influence of Martin, attempted, although unsuccessfully, to prevent his entering the city. Maximus endeavoured, by elaborate attentions, to draw him into communicating with Ithacius and his party; but the bishop of Tours firmly refused, and they parted in anger. Late at night, Martin was informed that orders had been given for the execution of the officers in whom he was interested, and that two military commissioners were about to be sent into Spain, with orders to extirpate Priscillianism. The information struck him with dismay, not only on account of the peril to Gratian's adherents, but because, from the manner in which he himself and others had been charged with Priscillianism by Ithacius, he knew that the imputation of that heresy would be used as a pretext against orthodox persons of ascetic life; in great anxiety he made his way to the emperor's presence, where, on condition that Gratian's officers should be spared, and that the commission against Priscillianism should be revoked, he promised to communicate with the Ithacians. Martin shared, accordingly, in the consecration of Felix next day, but refused to sign the act, and immediately left Treves. It is related that, as he was on his way

<sup>k</sup> Supl. Sev. ii 51; Bayle, art. *Priscillien*, n. D; Gibbon, ii. 527.

homewards, thinking sadly on his late compliance, an angel appeared to him, who consoled him, but told him he had acted wrongly. From that time, says his biographer, Martin felt in himself an abatement of the power of miracles; and for the remaining sixteen years of his life he avoided all councils and assemblies of bishops.<sup>1</sup>

The execution of Priscillian and his companions was regarded with general horror, alike by Christians and by pagans.<sup>m</sup> St. Ambrose, when on his second mission to

Treves,<sup>n</sup> chose rather to risk and to forfeit his object than to communicate with Maximus and the bishops who had been concerned in the deed of blood.<sup>o</sup> Siricius, bishop of Rome, joined in the condemnation of the party which had acted with Ithacius; and their leader was deposed, and died in exile.<sup>p</sup>

Priscillianism did not at once become extinct. The church of France was long disturbed by dissensions which arose out of it. The heresiarch's body was carried

<sup>1</sup> Sulp. Sev. Dialog. iii. 15; Tillem. viii. 511-12; x. 327-30. Mr. Clinton (vol. i. 513) would read *undecim* for "*sedecim annos*," in Sulpicius, and, instead of the usual dates for Martin's visit to Treves and his death—384 and 400—gives 386 and 397. Comp. i. 539; ii. 447.

<sup>m</sup> E.g. Sulp. Sev. Hist. Sac. ii. 50-1; and the pagan panegyrist Pacatus, c. 29. See Tillem. viii. 509-10; Ambr., i. 321. The fact that such feelings were shown seems to be a sufficient refutation of Walch's argument (iii. 478-80), that Priscillian and the rest were not executed as heretics, but for other offences, which might have been properly visited with capital punishment, if the proceedings had been more fairly conducted.

<sup>n</sup> See p. 386.

<sup>o</sup> Ambr. Ep. xxiv. 12.

<sup>p</sup> Prosper, Chron. A.D. 392; Conc. Taurin. c. 6, ap. Hard. i. 959; Tillem. viii. 515; Walch, iii. 414-16; Neander, iv. 497. The downward progress of opinion as to religious persecution is to be gradually traced. While Christianity was persecuted, its professors were earnest for religious freedom. So were the orthodox Athanasius and Hilary, when Arianism was in the ascendant. At the time which we have now reached, the fathers were against punishing heresy with death; but they still differed as to the question of using measures of constraint. In the following century the infliction of death was expressly justified. Schröckh, ix. 318, seqq.; xi. 336-7; xv. 366. See Mosheim, 'Syntagma Dissertationum,' 491, seqq.; Neand. iv. 496; Giesel. I. ii. 320; Herzog, vi. 678.

from Treves into his native country, where it was revered by his partisans as that of a martyr; and his name was used by them in oaths.<sup>a</sup> Many members of the sect were reunited to the church after a council held at Toledo in 400,<sup>r</sup> but a remnant of it is mentioned as still existing at the date of the first council of Braga, in 561.<sup>s</sup>

## CHAPTER VI.

### SUPPLEMENTARY.

#### I. *Propagation of the Gospel.*

WHILE the empire was distracted by the Arian controversy, the gospel penetrated into some countries beyond the bounds of the Roman power.

(I.) Whatever may have been the effect produced in his native country by the conversion of Queen Candace's treasurer, recorded in the Acts of the Apostles,<sup>a</sup> it would appear to have been transitory; and the Ethiopian or Abyssinian church owes its origin to an expedition made early in the fourth century by Meropius, a philosopher of Tyre, for the purpose of scientific inquiry. On his voyage homewards, he and his companions were attacked at a place where they had landed in search of water, and all were massacred except two youths, Ædesius and Frumentius, the relatives and pupils of Meropius. These

<sup>a</sup> Sulp. Sev. ii. 51.

<sup>r</sup> Conc. Tolet. I. ap. Hard. i. 989-996; Idat. Chron. A.D. 400. (Patrol. lxxiv.) The documents ascribed to the council are in part of later date.

<sup>s</sup> Conc. Bracar. I. cc. 1-17 (Patrol.

lxxxiv. 563); Baron. 405. 43, seqq.; Pagi, vi. 493; Tillem. viii. 516-27. Mosh. i. 410; Walch, iii. 405, 416-30. Schröckh, xi. 338-40; Matter, iii. 107.

<sup>a</sup> Acts viii. See Euseb. ii. 1.

were carried to the king of the country, who advanced Ædesius to be his cupbearer, and Frumentius to be his secretary and treasurer. On the death of the king, who left a boy as his heir, the two strangers, at the request of the widowed queen, acted as regents of the kingdom until the prince came of age. Ædesius then returned to Tyre, where he became a presbyter. Frumentius, who, with the help of such Christian traders as visited the country, had already introduced the Christian doctrine and worship into Abyssinia, repaired to Alexandria, related his story to Athanasius, and requested that a bishop might be sent to follow up the work; whereupon Athanasius, considering that no one could be so fit for the office as Frumentius himself, consecrated him to the bishoprick of Axum. The church thus founded continues to this day subject to the see of Alexandria—"drinking," as the Abyssinians themselves express it, "of the patriarch's well."<sup>b</sup> Its metropolitan is always an Egyptian monk, chosen and consecrated by the Coptic patriarch.<sup>c</sup>

After the expulsion of Athanasius from his see in 356, Constantius wrote to the princes of Axum, desiring that they would not shelter the fugitive,<sup>d</sup> and also that Frumentius might be sent to Alexandria, to receive instruction in the faith from the Arian bishop, George. Athanasius, however, was safe among the monks of Egypt, and it does not appear that the request as to Frumentius met with any attention.<sup>e</sup>

An Arian missionary, named Theophilus, is celebrated

<sup>b</sup> See Herzog, i. 45, 166-7.

<sup>c</sup> R. fin. i. 9; Soc. i. 19; Soz. vi. 24; Gibbon, iv. 392; Curzon's 'Monasteries of the Levant,' Lond. 1849, p. 71. Tillemont supposes the expedition of Meropius to have been about A.D. 300, and the consecration of Frumentius about 330 (vii. 209). Others

make the interval less, and place the consecration after 340. See Pagi in Baron. A.D. 327; Vales. in Soc. loc. cit.; Wiltsch, i. 188.

<sup>d</sup> Sup. p. 349.

<sup>e</sup> Athan. Apol. ad Const. 28, 31 Schröckh, vi. 28; Neand. iii. 168-70.



by the historian of his party, Philostorgius,<sup>f</sup> while his labours are not unnaturally overlooked by the orthodox writers. He was a native of the island of Diu,<sup>g</sup> and, having been sent as a hostage to the imperial court, was consecrated as a bishop by Eusebius of Nicomedia.<sup>h</sup> Theophilus preached in southern Arabia, and apparently also in Abyssinia and India, as well as in his native island.<sup>i</sup> In India he is said to have found the remains of an older Christianity, which Philostorgius describes as *hetero-ousian*, (*i.e.*, holding that the Persons of the Godhead differ in essence)—an assertion which seems to have had no other foundation than the fact that the Indians were unacquainted with the terms which had been introduced into the language of orthodox theology since the rise of the Arian controversy.<sup>k</sup> Circa 350.

(2.) The conversion of the Iberians or Georgians is referred to the reign of Constantine. Some of these barbarians, on an incursion into the empire, had carried off among their captives a pious Christian woman, whose religious exercises and mortifications were observed with surprise and awe. After a time, a child—one of the king's children, according to Socrates—fell sick, and, agreeably to the custom of the country, was carried from one woman to another, in the hope that some one of them might be able to cure him. The captive, on being at length consulted, disclaimed all knowledge of physic, but, laying the child on a couch, said, "Christ, who healed many, will heal this child" A.D. 320-330.

<sup>f</sup> ii. 6; iii. 4-6; iv. 7.

<sup>g</sup> Neander in one place (i. 113) identifies this with Socotra, but elsewhere (iii. 165) with Diu, near the Gulf of Cambay, in Hindostan. The inhabitants of Socotra (Dioscoridis) were descended from a colony planted by the Ptolemies, and their language was

Greek. Cosmas Indicopl. i. iii. (ap. Montfaucon, 'Collectio Nova Patrum.' ii. 179.)

<sup>h</sup> Philost. iii. 4.

<sup>i</sup> Ib. ii. 6.

<sup>k</sup> Tillem. viii. 289; Schröckh, vi. 25-6; Neand. iii. 165-6; Giesel. I. ii. 339.

also"; when, at her prayer, the boy recovered. The queen was soon after cured in like manner; and the captive refused all recompence. Next day the king, while hunting among the mountains, found himself enveloped in a thick mist or darkness. After having called or his gods in vain, he bethought himself of applying to the stranger's God, and the darkness immediately cleared away. Other miracles are added to the story. The king and queen gave their people the example of conversion, and the Iberians, on application to Constantine, were supplied with a bishop and clergy.<sup>1</sup>

(3.) The Christian communities of Persia have been mentioned as existing in the earlier period.<sup>m</sup> The faith continued to make progress in that country; and Constantine, soon after declaring his own conversion, wrote in favour of the Christians to Sapor II., who was king of Persia from 309 to 381.<sup>n</sup> But the progress of a rival religion was watched with jealousy and alarm

A.D. 343. by the magi; and, on the breaking out of a war between Sapor and Constantius, they represented to the king that the converts were attached to the Roman interest. A persecution was begun by Sapor's subjecting the Christians to special and oppressive taxes. Their chief, Symeon, bishop of Seleucia and Ctesiphon, was then seized, and was carried into the presence of the king, who required him to conform to the national religion, and, on his refusal, sentenced him to imprisonment. As he was led away, Uthazanes, an old eunuch, who had lately been persuaded to renounce Christianity, saluted him reverentially; but the bishop turned away

<sup>1</sup> Rufin. i. 10; Soc. i. 20; Soz. ii. 7; Neand. iii. 362.

<sup>m</sup> p. 215.

<sup>n</sup> Euseb. Vit. Const. iv. 8-13; Soz. ii. 15. Sozomen and others wrongly say that the letter was intended to

plead for a cessation of the persecution, which they accordingly place in the reign of Constantine—about 325. See Pagi in Baron. A.D. 327; Schröckh, vi. 41; Neand. iii. 147; Giesel. I. ii. 336.

his face. Uthazanes, deeply affected by the reproach, broke out into lamentation—"If my old and intimate friend thus disowns me, what may I expect from my God whom I have denied?" For these words he was summoned before the king, and, after having withstood both threats and entreaties, was condemned to death. Uthazanes had brought up Sapor; he now begged a favour for the sake of his old kindness—that it might be proclaimed that he was not guilty of treason, but was executed solely for being a Christian. The king willingly assented, in the hope that the declaration would deter his subjects from Christianity; but an opposite effect followed, as the sight of the courage which could sacrifice even life for the gospel induced many to embrace the Christian faith. Symeon and many others were put to death. In the following year the severity of the persecution was increased; and notices of martyrdoms are found from time to time throughout the remainder of Sapor's reign.<sup>o</sup>

(4.) We have already seen that the gospel was introduced among the Goths by captives who were carried off during the reigns of Valerian and Gallienus.<sup>p</sup> Theophilus, "bishop of the Goths," was among the members of the Nicene council,<sup>q</sup> and seems to have been the immediate predecessor of Ulfilas, who, notwithstanding his Teutonic name,<sup>r</sup> is said to have been descended from Cappadocian captives.<sup>s</sup> Ulfilas was probably born

<sup>o</sup> Soz. ii. 9; Tillem. vii. 78, 241; Neand. iii. 155. See Neumann, 'Gesch. d. Englischen Reichs in Asien,' i. 20 (Leipz. 1857), who quotes the work of Elias, an Armenian bishop of the 5th century, printed at Venice in 1828.

<sup>p</sup> p. 216.

<sup>q</sup> Hard. i. 320.

<sup>r</sup> *Vulfila* or *Wulfila*, a diminutive of *Vulfs*, a wolf (Patrol. xviii. 467;

Massmann's Ulfilas, Stuttgart, 1857, p. ix.). The edition of Ulfilas in the Patrologia is taken from that by Von der Gabelentz and Löbe, Leipz. 1847. Massmann's Introduction contains much curious matter as to the history of Christianity among the Goths.

<sup>s</sup> Philostorg. ii. 5. For the connexion between the Goths and the Cappadocians, see Massmann, xii.

in 318, and was consecrated as a bishop at the age of thirty—perhaps while employed on a legation to the emperor Constantius, in 348.<sup>t</sup> In 355 the persecution of Athanaric, judge or prince of the Ostrogoths, who regarded the profession of Christianity as a token of inclination to the Roman interest,<sup>u</sup> compelled the bishop to lead a large body of Goths across the Danube, and seek a refuge within the empire; and it would seem that this exodus, as well as his labours and influence among his people, contributed to suggest the title which was bestowed on him by Constantius,—“the Moses of the Goths.”<sup>x</sup> About fifteen years later the persecution was renewed, and many of Athanaric’s subjects, who had embraced Christianity, were put to death.<sup>y</sup> In 376 Ulfilas was employed by Fritigern, prince of the Visigoths—the division of the Gothic nation to which he himself belonged, and among which his labours had been chiefly exercised—to negotiate with Valens for permission to settle within the imperial territories;<sup>z</sup> and on the

<sup>t</sup> Philostorg. ii. 5 (who, however, wrongly places this under Constantine); Waitz, ‘Leben u. Lehre des Ulfila,’ 36 (Hanov. 1840); Neand. vi. 395; Patrol. xviii. 461. Prof. Müller dates the birth of Ulfilas in 312, his consecration in 341 (probably at the council of Antioch), and his death in 381. (‘Lectures on Language,’ 180-2, ed. 2). Krafft, in Herzog’s Encyclopædia, art. *Ulfila*, gives 313, 343, and 383 as the dates of these three events.

<sup>u</sup> Rückert, i. 42-2.

<sup>x</sup> Auxentius, Arian bp. of Dorostorus (Silistria), in Waitz, 20; Philost. ii. 5; Massmann, xiv.

<sup>y</sup> Soc. iv. 33; Soz. vi. 37. Socrates says that these victims—having received Arianism in simplicity, and not with a heretical mind—are to be reckoned as martyrs. But Baronius (370. 106-7), Tillemont (vi. 606), Revillout (41), and Rückert (i. 216), seem

to be right in arguing that the persecution took place before the Goths professed Arianism as a nation. Among those who suffered were many Audians—followers of Udo, or Audius, a Syrian, who having been excommunicated on account of the freedom with which he censured the clergy, formed a sect of his own, and was consecrated by a bishop who had separated from the church. He was banished to Scythia, where he converted many of the Goths, and founded monasteries. The Audians lived ascetically, observed Easter according to the quartenary rule, and are said to have been anthropomorphites. See Epiph. lxx.; Theodoret. Hær. Fab. iv. 10; Tillem. vi. 692-5; Mosh. i. 412; Walch, iii. 303-20; Schröckh, vi. 213-16; Neand. iv. 483-5; Giesel. I. ii. 244; Massm. xv.; Hefele, i. 321-7.

<sup>z</sup> See Soc. iv. 34; Amm. Marc.

revolt of the nation against their new protectors, he was sent on an unsuccessful mission to the emperor immediately before the battle of Adrianople.<sup>a</sup> The death of Ulfilas took place in 388, at Constantinople, where he was endeavouring to mediate with Theodosius in behalf of his Arian subjects.<sup>b</sup>

Ulfilas employed civilization as the handmaid of religion. To him his countrymen were indebted for the invention of an alphabet,<sup>c</sup> and for a translation of the Scriptures—from which, it is said, the books of Samuel and Kings were excluded, lest their warlike contents should be found too congenial to the ferocity of the barbarians.<sup>d</sup> The Goths received their bishop's words as law; and through his influence they were unhappily drawn away from the orthodox faith, which they had at first professed. The date and the circumstances of this change are subjects of much dispute.<sup>e</sup> Ulfilas, indeed, appears to have been more distinguished for practical efficiency than for theological knowledge, and to have imperfectly apprehended the importance of the question between Arianism and Nicene orthodoxy.<sup>f</sup> He is known

xxxi. 3-5; Soz. vi. 37; Jornandes, 25 (Patrol. lxix.); Gibbon, ii. 470, seqq.

<sup>a</sup> Massm. xvii.

<sup>b</sup> Ib. xiii., xix.

<sup>c</sup> Philost. ii. 5. It has been supposed that the Goths must have had an alphabet while in the east, and that they lost it in the course of their migrations, so that they retained only the knowledge of the runic characters. These were merely symbolical, and were, moreover, so connected with idolatry, that on that account alone Ulfilas would have found a new character necessary. The Gothic letters were chiefly taken from those of the Greek and Latin alphabets. Waitz, 51-2; Milman, iii. 136; and n. on Gibbon, iii. 359; Revillout, 29; Gabelentz and Löbe, Patrol. xviii. 897,

seqq.; Massm. li., lii.

<sup>d</sup> Philost. ii. 5. See Patrol. 463-4. There was afterwards a complete Gothic Bible; but although the whole was commonly ascribed to Ulfilas (as by Isid. Hispal. Chron. 103, in Patrol. lxxxiii.), it is uncertain how much of it was really executed by him. See Massm. xlvi.-vii.

<sup>e</sup> See Soc. iv. 33; Soz. vi. 37; Theod. iv. 37; Tillem. vii. 605-8, 798-9; Schröckh, vi. 33; Ozanam, 'Civ. Chrét. chez les Francs,' 25, 33.

<sup>f</sup> Rückert, i. 220. This seems to be the true explanation of his having said that he had always believed with the Arians. See Müller, 184; Bunsen, 'Zeichen der Zeit.' i. 86-7; Massmann.

to have been associated with Acacius and Eudoxius at Constantinople in 360, and to have signed the creed of Rimini;<sup>g</sup> but it would seem that he nevertheless kept up up his connexion with the catholics after that time, and that the distinct profession of Arianism among the Goths did not take place until the reign of Valens, when it became a condition of their admission into the emperor's dominions.<sup>h</sup> When that heresy had been ejected from the church—when it had ceased to be debated in councils and to exercise the learning and the acumen of cultivated theologians—it gained a new importance as being the creed of the barbarian multitudes who overran the empire.<sup>i</sup>

(5.) The existence of lately-founded churches among the Saracens on the borders of Arabia is mentioned by Eusebius.<sup>k</sup> The roving bands of this wild people were greatly impressed by the life of the monks who had retired to the deserts, and they visited them with reverence. In

the reign of Valens, a Saracen queen, named  
A.D. 372. Mavia, who had been at war with the Romans, stipulated as a condition of peace that Moses, a solitary of renowned sanctity, should be given to her nation as bishop. Moses reluctantly consented to undertake the office, but absolutely refused to receive consecration from Lucius, the Arian bishop of Alexandria; and he was eventually consecrated by some of the orthodox bishops who were in exile.<sup>l</sup>

## II. *Relations of Church and State.*

(1.) For nearly three hundred years the church had been providentially left to develope itself as a society

<sup>g</sup> Soc. ii. 41; Soz. vi. 37; Tillem. vi. 605.

<sup>h</sup> Tillem. vi. 789; Revillout, 42-3  
See Rückert, i. 216; Am. Thierry, 'Hist. d'Attila,' i. 31.

<sup>i</sup> Revillout, 2.

<sup>k</sup> Comment. in Hesaiam, ap. Montfaucon, Coll. Nova Patrum, ii. 521, Paris, 1706.

<sup>l</sup> Rufin. ii. 6; Soc. iv. 36; Acta SS. Feb. 7, pp. 41-5.



unconnected with the powers of this world, and by the time when its faith was adopted by the emperors of Rome, it had attained the condition of a great independent body, with a regular and settled organization. But, although it had thus far appeared as separate, it was not incapable of a connexion with the state, in which the religious element should hallow the secular, while the secular power in turn should lend its influence for the advancement of religion.<sup>m</sup> There was, however, danger lest, in such a connexion, one or both of the parties should forget that the church is not a function of the state, but is itself a divinely-instituted spiritual kingdom; and, while it was thus possible that ecclesiastics might rely too much on the secular power, there was also the opposite danger, that they might assume towards it an authority professedly derived from heaven, but really unwarranted by any Christian principle.

When Constantine became a convert to the gospel, the change found both parties imperfectly prepared for understanding the relations which resulted from it. It was likely that the emperor, who was by office Pontifex Maximus—the highest minister of heathen religion, and knowing no authority in that system more sacred than his own,<sup>n</sup>—would be unwilling to accept, or even unable to conceive, the different position which was assigned to him in his new communion. It was likely that the clergy, unused as they had hitherto been to intercourse with persons of such exalted rank, would be dazzled on finding themselves invited to associate with the sovereign of the Roman world, and would be disposed to allow him an undue control in spiritual affairs. Yet on the other hand, as Constantine became their pupil in religion, the power nominally exercised by the emperor was virtually wielded by those ecclesiastics who for the time held

<sup>m</sup> Möhler's *Athanasius*, i. 121-2.

<sup>n</sup> Gibbon, *ii.* 168 q.

possession of his mind.<sup>o</sup> And although the party which had the ascendancy during the last years of his reign, and throughout that of Constantius, lent itself unduly to the assumptions of the emperors, yet this servility was not without some good effect, inasmuch as the imperial interference, however objectionable in itself, was thus veiled under the appearance of regular ecclesiastical proceedings. The deprivations, ejections, and intrusions of bishops were sanctioned by subservient synods; so that, in respect of form, the age of Constantine and Constantius has not left the embarrassing precedents which would have resulted if the temporal power had been arrayed on one side and the church on the other, without the intervention of a secular, unscrupulous, and numerous faction of ecclesiastics. And, lamentable as it is that, almost in the first years of the connexion between church and state, the emperor should be seen on the side of heterodoxy, even this also had its advantage. Whereas the patronage and co-operation of the court might have lulled the orthodox into security, and they might thus have silently and unconsciously yielded up their rights, as suspecting no evil from a friend, the disfavour and discountenance which they met with guarded them against such submission; they were forced to declare at the earliest stage that the power of the emperor in spiritual things was not unlimited.<sup>p</sup> And it may be matter of instruction and

<sup>o</sup> Schröckh, v. 109, 110.

<sup>p</sup> Thus Hosius writes to Constantius—"Intrude not yourself into ecclesiastical matters, neither give commands unto us concerning them; but learn them from us. God hath put into your hands the kingdom; to us He hath entrusted the affairs of His church; and as he who should steal the empire from you would resist the ordinance of God, so likewise fear on your part, lest, by taking upon yourself the government of the church,

you become guilty of a great offence. It is written, 'Render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and unto God the things are God's.' Neither, therefore, is it permitted to us to exercise an earthly rule, nor have you, sire, any authority to burn incense." (Athan. Hist. Arian. 44, Oxf. transl.) So Eleusius of Cyzicus and Silvanus of Tarsus told Constantius that "it was for him to determine of punishment, but for them, as bishops, to judge of piety and impiety." (Theod. ii. 27.) In

of comfort in later times, to know that any difficulties which may be experienced in dealing with those earthly powers to which Christians are bound to yield a willing obedience in all lawful things, were not without a parallel in that very age to which the imagination might be disposed to attribute almost an ideal perfection in respect of the relations between the church and the state.

Eusebius speaks of Constantine as a "kind of general bishop,"<sup>a</sup> and elsewhere relates that the emperor once told some of his episcopal guests that, as they were bishops within the church, so he himself was bishop without it.<sup>r</sup> The meaning of these words has been disputed with a zeal which would attribute too much both of pre-

like manner St. Ambrose spoke, when required to give up the basilica to the Arians. (Ep. xx. 19.) Comp. Giesel. I. ii. 173-80.

<sup>a</sup> Οἷά τις κοινὸς ἐπίσκοπος. V. C. i. 44.

<sup>r</sup> Ὅμοις μὲν τῶν εἶσω τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἐγὼ δὲ τῶν ἐκτὸς ὑπὸ θεοῦ καθεσταμένους ἐπίσκοπος ἂν εἶην. (Ib. iv. 24.) A common interpretation is—that he regarded himself as *bishop of things external to the church*—as charged with the care of its outward relations, entitled to control these, and lending to the church the support of the civil power. (Mosh. i. 314-15; Heinichen, Excurs. iv. in Euseb. V. C.) Romanists in general understand of τῶν ἐκτ. τ. ἐκκλ. not *things* but *persons* without the church,—viz. heathens and heretics; an interpretation open to the obvious objection that the emperor's power over heathens and heretics was different in kind from that of bishops over their people. Neander (iii. 188) explains Constantine's speech as meaning "that God had made him overseer of that which was without the church, *i.e.* the political relations, for the purpose of ordering these according to the will of God; of giving the whole such a di-

rection as that his subjects might led to pious living." Gieseler 183) says that there is no authority for speaking of a bishop of *things*; consequently, τῶν must mean *persons*—the same with τοὺς ἀρχομένους immediately after; and he gives an explanation which appears to err by too great refinement—"You are overseers of those who belong to the church, and in so far as they belong to it; I am overseer of those who are without the church, and in so far as they are without it—whether wholly (as the heathens) or partially (as Christians in their civil relations)." But whatever the strict interpretation may be, the first-mentioned is that which accords with Constantine's conduct in ecclesiastical affairs. It is amusing that Rohrbacher—while he so far departs from the older Roman view of the first Christian emperor's character as to consider that he intermeddled wrongfully in the concerns of the church—indignantly rejects the idea that he could have described himself as "l'évêque extérieur de l'église."—"Voilà," exclaims the Abbé, with his usual insolence, "comme on traduit les textes que l'on n'a pas lus!" vi. 242.

cision and of importance to a saying sportively uttered at table; but it is at least certain that Constantine acted as if he believed himself entitled to watch over the church, to determine which of conflicting opinions was orthodox, and to enforce theological decisions by the strength of the secular power. His own appearance in the council of Nicæa while he was yet unbaptized,<sup>s</sup> the presidency of Constantius, while only a catechumen, at the council of Antioch,<sup>t</sup> and his deputation of lay officers to control the synods of Rimini and Seleucia,<sup>u</sup> are instances of the manner in which the imperial superintendence was exerted. And yet (as has been before observed) in all these cases, whatever there may have been of lay control, the formal decision of matters was left to the voice of the bishops. The pains which were taken to draw prelates of high personal or official authority—such as Athanasius, Hosius, and Liberius—into a compliance with the measures of the court, are also a remarkable testimony to the importance which was attached to the episcopal judgments.

The introduction of general councils contributed greatly to increase the imperial influence. These assemblies were necessarily summoned by the emperor, since no spiritual authority possessed the universal jurisdiction which was requisite for the purpose; their decisions were confirmed by him, promulgated with his sanction, and enforced by civil penalties of his appointment.<sup>x</sup>

(2.) The emperor was regarded as the highest judge in all causes. The bishops of Rome considered it a distinction to be allowed to plead for themselves before his judgment-seat, after the example of St. Paul.<sup>y</sup> But it soon

<sup>s</sup> P. 291.

<sup>t</sup> P. 305.

Gibbon, iii. 181-2; Schröckh, v. 111; Planck, ii. 264; Neand. iii. 188.

<sup>u</sup> Pp. 328, 330.

<sup>x</sup> Andrewes, *Serm. on Numb. x. 1-2* (vol. v. ed. Anglo-cath. Lib.); Barrow, 477, seqq.; Suicer, ii. 1173-8;

<sup>y</sup> Conc. Rom. A.D. 378, ad Gratian. ap. Hard. i. 841; Giesel. I. ii. 181

began to be felt that both bishops and presbyters were disposed to carry to the imperial tribunal matters in which the judgment of their brethren had been, or was likely to be, pronounced against them. In order to check this, the council of Antioch, in 341, and that of Sardica, in 347, passed canons, by which it was forbidden to haunt the court under pretext of suits, or to appeal to the emperor except with the consent of the metropolitan and other bishops of the province to which the appellant belonged.<sup>2</sup>

In the earlier times, it had been usual for Christians, in order to avoid the scandal of exposing their differences before heathen tribunals, to submit them to the arbitration of the bishops.<sup>a</sup> The influence which the bishops had thus acquired was greatly increased by a law which is usually (though perhaps erroneously) referred to Constantine. It was ordered that, if both parties in a case consented to submit it to the episcopal decision, the sentence should be without appeal; and the secular authorities were charged to carry it out.<sup>b</sup> Many later enactments relate to this subject. In some canons, persons who should decline the bishop's jurisdiction are censured as showing a want of charity towards the brethren.<sup>c</sup> By this power of arbitration, the bishops were drawn into much secular business, and incurred

<sup>2</sup> Conc. Antioch. cc. 11-12; Conc. Sardic. cc. 7-9 (in the Greek).

<sup>a</sup> I Cor. vi. 1.

<sup>b</sup> Soz. i. 9; Bingh. II. vii. 3; Gibbon, ii. 178; Schröckh, v. 92; viii. 40; Planck, i. 310-15. The earliest extant law of such purport is of 408 (Cod. Just. I. iv. 8), but as the Jewish patriarchs had the privilege in question in 398 (Cod. Theod. II. i. 10), it is probable that the bishops possessed it before that date. (Giesel. I. ii. 165-6.) An alleged law of 318, by which it was allowed that *one* party in a suit might, even against the will of the other party, carry it before the bishop at any stage

of the proceedings, while the bishop's sentence was to be final, and was to be executed by the secular power,—is generally given up as spurious. See Cod. Theod. t. vi. 303; Tillem. Emp. iv. 663-4; Bingh. II. vii. 3; Schröckh, v. 92-3; viii. 39; Giesel. II. i. 79. Yet Walter (Kirchenr. 382) and Meier (in Herzog, art. *Audientia Episcopalis*, maintain it, referring to a work by Hänel, 'De Constitutionibus quas Sirmundus edidit,' Bonn, 1840.

<sup>c</sup> Conc. Carthag. III. c. 9 (Hard. i. 962); Schröckh, viii. 67-8; Giesel. I. ii. 165-6.

the risk of enmity and obloquy. To some of them the judicial employment may possibly have been more agreeable than the more spiritual parts of their function ; but many, like St. Augustine, felt it as a grievous burden and distraction,<sup>d</sup> and some relieved themselves of the labour by appointing clerical or lay delegates to act for them.<sup>e</sup>

Constantius in 355 enacted that bishops should be tried only by members of their own order—*i.e.*, in synods.<sup>f</sup> But this privilege was limited by Gratian, who in 376 ordered that matters which concerned religion and ecclesiastical discipline should belong to bishops and ecclesiastical synods, but that criminal jurisdiction should be reserved to the secular courts ;<sup>g</sup> and such was the general principle of the age. As, however, crimes are also sins, and the boundaries which separate ecclesiastical from secular questions are not always easy to determine, there arose frequent cases of difficulty between secular punishment and ecclesiastical penance ; indeed, the legislation of the early part of the fifth century on this subject is inconsistent with itself—showing at once the weakness of the emperors and the watchfulness of the ecclesiastical authorities.<sup>h</sup> In cases of crime the clerical office was not as yet supposed to carry with it any exemption from the secular jurisdiction.<sup>i</sup>

(3.) The influence of the gospel, which had perhaps begun in some degree to affect the Roman legislation even while paganism was yet the religion of the state,<sup>k</sup>

<sup>d</sup> Tillem. xiii. 242-5 ; Baron. 398. 64-5 ; Schröckh, viii. 44-5 ; Neand. iii. 198. St. Augustine used to say that he would rather judge between strangers than friends, because he might perhaps make a friend of a stranger in whose favour he decided, whereas one of his friends would certainly be alienated by an adverse sentence. Possidius, 10

<sup>e</sup> Planck, i. 516.

<sup>f</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 12.

<sup>g</sup> Ib. 23 ; Bingh. V. ii. 5-12 ; Schröckh, viii. 37-8, 65 ; Planck, i. 305.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, viii. 42, 66. See Planck, i. 319-24.

<sup>i</sup> Gibbon, ii. 178 ; Giesel. I. ii. 167.

<sup>k</sup> Troplong, 'De l'Influence du Christianisme sur le Droit Civil,' pt.



was now more directly and more powerfully exerted in this respect.<sup>1</sup> Moral offences, of which former legislation had taken no notice, were denounced; and at the same time a humaner spirit is found to interpose for the protection of the weak, for the restraint of oppression, and for the mitigation of cruel punishments.<sup>m</sup> The bishops were often charged by law with the duty of befriending various classes of persons who might stand in need of assistance; thus a law of Honorius, in 409, which orders that judges should on every Sunday examine prisoners as to the treatment which they received, imposes on the bishops the duty of superintending its execution.<sup>n</sup> As magistrates became Christian, the church exercised a supervision over them which was of considerable effect; and sometimes the clergy pronounced its censures on local governors who had exercised their power tyrannically. Thus Athanasius excommunicated a governor of Libya;<sup>o</sup> and Synesius, bishop of Ptolemais, a generation later, excommunicated Andronicus, governor of Pentapolis.<sup>p</sup>

Intercession for offenders became an acknowledged duty and privilege of the clergy,<sup>q</sup> who often successfully interfered to save the lives of criminals in the hope that penance might enable them to make their peace with heaven.<sup>r</sup> But this right of intercession was liable to abuse and corruption. Some of the clergy sold their

i. c. 4 (Paris, 1856). Dean Merivale, while admitting this, shows that the Roman law had been already so modified as to pave the way in some measure for the reception of the gospel. Boyle Lectures, No. IV.

<sup>1</sup> For the influence of Christianity on the Roman law under Justinian, and also on the barbaric codes, see Milman, 'Lat. Christ.' b. iii. c. 5.

<sup>m</sup> Schröckh, viii. 53-5; Giesel. I. ii. 328-31; Broglie, i. 297, seqq. For

the improvement effected in the condition of slaves, see Troplong, pt. ii. c. 1.

<sup>n</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. iii. 7.

<sup>o</sup> Basil. Ep. 61.

<sup>p</sup> Synes. Ep. 58, p. 201, ed. Petav. Paris, 1612.

<sup>q</sup> Bingh. ii. 8; Neand. iii. 201. The vestals had formerly possessed a like privilege. Giesel. I. ii. 169.

<sup>r</sup> Aug. Ep. 153; Giesel. I. ii. 170.

influence for money;<sup>s</sup> monks and others, in the latter part of the century, carried their extravagance so far as forcibly to rescue malefactors on the way to execution; and laws were enacted to check such perverse and disorderly exhibitions of humanity.<sup>t</sup>

The privilege of asylum, which had belonged to some temples, became attached to all churches; and although the earliest laws on the subject date only from the last years of the century, they recognize the privilege as having long before existed on the ground of popular opinion.<sup>u</sup> In the state of society which then was, the institution had many important uses;<sup>x</sup> but corruptions naturally crept in, and against these edicts were issued. Thus Theodosius enacted in 392 that public debtors who took refuge in churches should be delivered up, or else that their debts should be paid by the bishop who sheltered them.<sup>v</sup> The younger Theodosius, in 431-2, while he extended the right of sanctuary to the whole precinct which surrounded churches, found it expedient at the same time to guard the privilege against some misuses;<sup>z</sup> and in the following century further restrictions were imposed by Justinian.<sup>a</sup>

### III. *The Hierarchy.*

(1.) Of the changes among the lower clergy during this period (besides the creation of some new offices which were required by the necessities of the church) may be mentioned the institution of two local fraternities—the *copiatæ* of Constantinople and the *parabolani* of Alexandria.<sup>b</sup> The *copiatæ* or *fossarii* (grave-diggers) were

<sup>s</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 309.

<sup>t</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xl. 15, 16; xlv. 1; Fleury, xx. 36; Giesel. I. ii. 171.

<sup>u</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xlv. 1-3 (A.D. 292-8); Bingham. viii. 11; Neand. iii. 204-5; Giesel. I. ii. 180-4.

<sup>v</sup> Milman, iii. 223.

<sup>x</sup> Cod. Theod. IX. xlv. 1.

<sup>y</sup> Ib. 4-5; Gibbon, ii. 178.

<sup>z</sup> Novell. xvii. 7.

<sup>b</sup> Planck, i. 354.

employed in burying the dead—especially the Christian poor, whose interment was free of cost; their number was 1100 under Constantine, but was reduced to 950 by a law of the younger Theodosius.<sup>c</sup> It appears that similar guilds were established in other populous cities. The parabolani (so called from the hazardous nature of their duties<sup>d</sup>) were appointed to attend on the sick.<sup>e</sup> In the dissensions of the Alexandrian church they acquired a character for turbulence,<sup>f</sup> so that in 416 the inhabitants of the city preferred a complaint against them to Theodosius the Second. The parabolani were therefore laid under some restraints by the emperor, and their number was reduced to 500; but two years later it was raised to 600.<sup>g</sup> Both the copiatæ and the parabolani were reckoned as belonging to the clergy, and enrolment among them was sought for the sake of the privileges and exemptions which were attached to it. In many cases the membership appears to have been honorary—persons of wealth paying for admission, enjoying the immunities, and taking no share in the duties. Against this corruption a law of Theodosius II. was directed.<sup>h</sup>

(2.) The deacons, whose number in some of the greater churches was still limited to seven,<sup>i</sup> acquired an increase of importance in proportion to the greater wealth which was entrusted to their administration. The power of baptizing and of preaching was now occasionally conferred on them,<sup>k</sup> and some of them even took on themselves the priestly function as to the consecration of

<sup>c</sup> Cod. Just. I. ii. 4 (where they are called *decani*); Bingh. III. viii. Cf. the tract 'De Ordinibus Eccl.' in Append. to Jerome, Patrol. xxx. 150.

<sup>d</sup> παραβάλλω, or παραβάλλομαι, to venture. See Suicer, s. v. παραβόλαιοι.

<sup>e</sup> Bingh. III. ix. 1-3; Schröckh, viii. 30.

<sup>f</sup> Bingh. III. ix. 4.

<sup>g</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 42-3; Baron. 416. 38; Giesel. I. ii. 173.

<sup>h</sup> Cod. Theod. VII. xx. 12; Cod. Just. I. ii. 9.

<sup>i</sup> See p. 222; Conc. Neocæsar. A.D. 314, can. 14; Bingh. II. xx. 19; Planck, i. 143.

<sup>k</sup> Augusti, xi. 200-3.

the eucharist; but this usurpation was strongly forbidden.<sup>1</sup> In some cases they claimed precedence of the presbyters,<sup>m</sup> and would have regarded it as a degradation to be ordained to the presbyterate, so that canons were even found necessary to check their assumptions.<sup>n</sup> In every considerable church one of the deacons presided over the rest. It is uncertain at what time this office of *archdeacon* was introduced: at Carthage it would seem to have been towards the end of the third century, as it is not mentioned by St. Cyprian, whereas, about fifty years later, Cæcilian is described as archdeacon to Mensurius.<sup>o</sup> The distinction of one deacon above his brethren may perhaps have been originally a matter of personal eminence, and may have afterwards come to be established as official. The archdeacon was appointed by the bishop; he was his chief assistant in the government of the church, and was generally regarded as likely to succeed to the bishoprick.<sup>p</sup> In the end of the fourth century a similar presidency over the presbyters was given in some churches to an archpriest (*archipresbyter*)—to whom the administration of the diocese was intrusted in the absence or incapacity of the bishop.<sup>q</sup>

(3.) The position of the chorepiscopi was found to excite the jealousy of the superior bishops. Their functions were therefore more strictly limited by canons,<sup>r</sup> and in some quarters a movement was made for the suppression of the office. The council of Laodicea forbids the appointment of bishops in villages and country places;<sup>s</sup> it orders that, in their stead, presbyters with the title of *periodeutæ* (circuit-visitors)—answering to the archdeacons

<sup>1</sup> Conc. Arelat. A.D. 314, c. 15. See Hefele, i. 182.

<sup>m</sup> See Hieron. Ep. cxlvi. 2.

<sup>n</sup> E.g. Conc. Arelat. A.D. 314, c. 18; Conc. Nic. A.D. 325, c. 18; Conc. Carth. IV. A.D. 398, c. 37; Bingham, II. xxi. 3. Augusti, xi. 194-5; Hefele, i.

408-10.

<sup>o</sup> Bingham, II. xxi. 11.

<sup>p</sup> Ib. 2-11; Schröckh, viii. 204-5.

<sup>q</sup> Thomass. II. i. 3.

<sup>r</sup> Planck, i. 527-9.

<sup>s</sup> *Χώραις*.

or rural deans of our own church—should be employed, and that the chorepiscopi already ordained should do nothing without the approbation of the city bishops.<sup>t</sup> In the following century, however, chorepiscopi are mentioned as sitting in the council of Chalcedon, although only as delegates of other bishops;<sup>u</sup> and the title is found much later, both in the east and in the west. Thus, the second council of Nicæa, in 787, speaks of chorepiscopi as ordaining readers by permission of the bishops,<sup>x</sup>—a notice which seems to imply that they then belonged to the order of presbyters, and were much the same with the *periodeutæ* intended by the Laodicean canon. The western chorepiscopi of the eighth and ninth centuries will come under our notice hereafter.<sup>y</sup>

(4.) The system of distinctions within the order of bishops was now carried out more fully than in the former period.<sup>z</sup> The religious divisions of the Roman world had generally followed the civil divisions, although this rule was not without exceptions;<sup>a</sup> and thus, when Constantine introduced a new partition of the empire into *dioceses*, each of which embraced several provinces, a nearly corresponding arrangement naturally followed in the church.<sup>b</sup> The bishop of the chief city in each

<sup>t</sup> Can. 57, ap. Hard. i. 761. See Thomass. I. ii. 1. 10; Bingh. II. xiv. 12; Planck, i. 529; Augusti, xi. 169; Döllinger, i. 211. This council is commonly dated about A.D. 363; Hardouin places it in 372. See Schröckh, vi. 243. Bp. Hefele (iv. 724) does not fix the date more nearly than by saying that it was between the council of Sardica (343?) and that of Constantinople (381).

<sup>u</sup> Bingh. II. xiv. 12; Schröckh, viii. 201-2; Planck, i. 530; Newman, n. on Fleury, i. 60.

<sup>x</sup> C. 14.

<sup>y</sup> See Book IV. c. ix. sect. iii. 3.

<sup>z</sup> Mosh. i. 312; Schröckh, v. 114-15; viii. 81.

<sup>a</sup> p. 224. Conc. Antioch. A.D. 341, c. 9. See Bingh. IX. i. 8.

<sup>b</sup> Zosim. ii. 3; Nat. Alex. VII. c. v. 1-4; Thomass. I. i. 3, 10; Barrow, 383-6; Wiltsch, i. 57. See Suicer, s. v. *δίουκρησις*; Planck, i. 601-3. The title of diocese was then used only to designate the great divisions, the sphere of a bishop being styled *parochia*. The division of the empire was as follows:—

I. PREFECTURE OF THE EAST, including the dioceses of (1) *The East* (Capital, Antioch); (2) *Egypt* (Alexandria); (3) *Asia* (Ephesus); (4) *Pon-*

diocese rose to a pre-eminence above the other metropolitans. These bishops usually received in the east the title of *exarch*, and in the west that of *primate*; the most eminent of them were afterwards styled *patriarchs*—a title which had formerly been given to all bishops, and of which the new and restricted sense appears to have been adopted from the Jews.<sup>c</sup> The degree of authority exercised by patriarchs or exarchs was not uniform. It was greatest at Alexandria, where the patriarch had the right of consecrating all the bishops of Egypt and Libya without the intervention of metropolitans. The bishop of Rome had a like power within his narrower jurisdiction, where, as in Egypt, the grade of metropolitans had not yet been introduced;<sup>d</sup> but in other countries it was usual that the chief bishop should consecrate the metropolitans, and that these should consecrate the inferior bishops.<sup>e</sup>

With the introduction of the larger ecclesiastical divisions came that of synods collected from their whole extent. The patriarchs or exarchs presided; and these councils became the highest ordinary authorities in the affairs of the church.<sup>f</sup>

*tus* (Cæsarea in Cappadocia); (5) *Thrace* (Heraclea, and afterwards Constantinople).

II. PREFECTURE OF EASTERN ILLYRIA—separated from the West in 379 (Capital, Thessalonica); (1) *Macedonia*; (2) *Dacia*.

III. PREFECTURE OF ITALY.—(1) *Rome* (Rome); (2) *Italy* (Milan); (3) *Western Illyria* (Sirmium); (4) *Africa* (Carthage).

IV. PREFECTURE OF THE GAULS.—(1) *Gaul* (Treves); (2) *Spain*; (3) *Britain*. Giesel. I. ii. 186.

<sup>c</sup> Thomass. I. xi. 17; Bingham. II. ii. 9; Planck, i. 608-9; Augusti, xi. 147. The title of patriarch, in its special sense, was first expressly given at the council of Chalcedon, A.D. 451.

(Bingham. II. xvii. 8; Suicer, ii. 643; Schröckh, xvii. 23.) It was assumed by the chiefs of the Montanists (sup. p. 106), and at a later time by those of the Arian Vandal clergy in Africa Thomass. I. i. 21. 4.

<sup>d</sup> Wiltsch, i. 62. See De Marca, i. 7. Metropolitans appear to have been established in the Alexandrian diocese about the middle of the fourth century; and this is all that Bp. Hefele seems to prove by his argument, vol. i. pp. 373-6.

<sup>e</sup> Bingham. II. xvi. 23; xvii. 11-12; Giesel. I. ii. 187; Wiltsch, i. 190.

<sup>f</sup> Conc. Cpol. I. A.D. 381, c. 6 (see p. 377, n. 8; Bingham. II. xvii. 13; Planck, i. 612; Giesel. I. ii. 187).



(5.) The council of Nicæa recognizes three principal sees—Rome, Alexandria, and Antioch—as presiding over the churches in their respective quarters.<sup>g</sup> Each of these three was at once the church of a great capital, and was reckoned to have the honour of apostolical foundation.<sup>h</sup> From the time when Constantine raised Byzantium to its new dignity, the bishoprick of that city, which had previously been subject to the metropolitan of Heraclea, the civil capital of Thrace, necessarily became an important position, insomuch that, even before any formal grant of ecclesiastical privileges or precedence had as yet been conferred on it, Eudoxius was supposed to be promoted by a translation to Constantinople from the great and venerable see of Antioch.<sup>i</sup> The second general council enacted that the bishop of Constantinople should stand next to the bishop of Rome, “forasmuch as it is a new Rome”<sup>k</sup>.—a reason which clearly shows that, in the opinion of the assembled bishops, the secular greatness of the old capital was the ground on which its ecclesiastical precedence rested.<sup>l</sup> The honour thus bestowed on Constantinople was not, however, accompanied by any gift of jurisdiction.<sup>m</sup>

(6.) The causes which, during the earlier period, had acquired for Rome a pre-eminence over all other churches were, in the fourth century, reinforced by new and important circumstances. Although within his own city the bishop was restrained by the prevalence of heathenism among the nobility, the removal of the court gave him a position of independence and importance beyond what

<sup>g</sup> Can. 6.

<sup>h</sup> Neand. iii. 230-2. Alexandria was counted apostolical, as having been founded by St. Mark, under the direction of St. Peter.

<sup>i</sup> Tillem. xv. 700-1; Schröckh, viii. 93; Planck, i. 605; Wiltsh, i. 168; Giesel. I. ii. 187.

<sup>j</sup> Conc. Cpol. I. A.D. 381, c. 3.

<sup>k</sup> Baronius tries to throw doubt on the genuineness of the canon—without any better warrant than his dislike of its substance. See p. 377, n. <sup>g</sup>; Tillem. ix. 490; and for ingenious evasions, Walter, p. 39

<sup>m</sup> Wiltsh, i. 139.

he could have obtained if the imperial splendour had been displayed on the same scene with his own dignity ;<sup>n</sup> and the Arian controversies greatly increased his influence in relation to the whole church.<sup>o</sup> In the distractions of the eastern Christians, the alliance of the west was strongly desired by each party. The bishop of Rome, as being the chief pastor in the western church, naturally became the organ of communication with his oriental brethren, to whom he appeared as the representative of the whole west, and almost as wielding its entire authority. Even where one of the oriental parties protested against his interference, the Roman bishop gained by the application of the other party for his aid, or by its consent to his proceedings.<sup>p</sup> Except during the temporary lapse of Liberius, the Roman influence was steadily on the side of orthodoxy, and as Rome thus stood in honourable contrast with the variations of the eastern bishops, its constancy acquired for it strength as well as credit, and the triumph of the cause which it had espoused contributed to the elevation of the see. Moreover, the old civil analogy introduced a practice of referring for advice to Rome from all parts of the west. The earliest extant answer to such an application is the synodical letter of Siricius to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona, A.D. 385.<sup>q</sup> But by degrees these "decretal epistles" rose more and more from a tone of advice to one of direction and command ; and they were no longer written in the name of a synod, but in that of the pope alone.<sup>r</sup>

The records of this time, however, while they show the progress of Rome towards the position which she after-

<sup>n</sup> Schröckh, v. 115.

<sup>o</sup> Barrow, 275, 414-15 ; Wetstein, in Gibbon, ii. 222 ; Giesel. I. ii. 305-7 ; Neand. iii. 191 ; vi. 406 ; Milman, iii.

40-2.

<sup>p</sup> Planck, i. 634-8.

<sup>q</sup> Hard. i. 647. This refers (c. 1) to one of Liberius, which is lost.

<sup>r</sup> Planck, i. 658 ; Giesel. I. ii. 200-2, Hussey on the Papal Power, 26.

wards attained, are utterly subversive of the pretence that that position belonged to her from the beginning, and by virtue of divine appointment. Thus, when the council of Nicæa, with a view to the schism of the Egyptian Meletius, ordained that the bishop of Alexandria should, agreeably to ancient custom, have jurisdiction over Egypt, Libya, and the Pentapolis, "forasmuch as this is also customary for the Roman bishop"—and further, that "in Antioch and in other provinces the privileges of churches should be preserved"<sup>s</sup>—it is evident that no other right over his suffragans is ascribed to the bishop of Rome than that which is also acknowledged to belong to the bishop of Alexandria; and that the privileges of these and of other sees are alike referred to ancient usage as their common foundation.

Again, when the council of Sardica enacted that any bishop who should wish to appeal from a synod might, with the consent of his judges, apply to Julius, bishop of Rome, and that, if the bishop of Rome thought fit, a new trial should be granted<sup>t</sup>—it is clear that the power assigned to the Roman bishop is not recognized as one which he before possessed, but was then conferred by the council.<sup>u</sup> The bishop of Rome had no power of evoking the cause from before another tribunal; he had no personal voice in the decision; he could only *receive* appeals on the application of the councils from which they were made—the power of making such appeals being limited

<sup>s</sup> Can. 6. See Schröckh, viii. 87-90.

<sup>t</sup> Can. 3. (Hard. i. 637.) Comp. cc. 4-5. There are some variations between the Greek and the Latin of these canons.

<sup>u</sup> De Marca, VII. ii. 6. This appears still more evident from the terms of the canon—"Osius episcopus dixit . . . *si vobis placet*, sancti Petri apostoli memoriam honoremus ut scribatur ab his qui causam examinarunt Julio

Romano episcopo." (See Barrow, 585; Tillem. viii. 110; Pusey on the Councils, 142.) "Some popes," says Barrow, "did challenge jurisdiction upon appeals, as given them by the Nicene canons, meaning thereby those of Sardica (see hereafter, Book III. c. iv.); which sheweth they had no better plea, and therefore no original right" (586). See on the whole matter his appendix, pp. 759-76; cf. Janus, 87.

to bishops—and commit the trial of them to the bishops bordering on the appellant's province, with the addition, if he should think fit, of legates representing himself.<sup>z</sup> Moreover, as the council of Sardica was composed of western bishops only, there was no pretext for enforcing this canon on the eastern church; and, as the occasion which led to the enactment was temporary, so the mention of Julius by name,<sup>y</sup> without any reference to his successors, seems to indicate that the power conferred was temporary and personal, and was granted in consideration of the pledges which the Roman bishop had given for his adherence to the orthodox cause.<sup>z</sup> Indeed, it may be said that this power was only such as in ordinary circumstances would have been acknowledged to belong to the emperor, and that it was transferred to Julius, because the exercise of it could not be safely left in the hands of the Arian Constantius.<sup>a</sup> In like manner, when Gratian, in 378, with a view of withdrawing the partisans of Ursicinus from secular tribunals, acceded to the request of a Roman synod that the judgment of them should be committed to Damasus,<sup>b</sup> the temporary and special nature of the grant is inconsistent with any such idea as that the jurisdiction of which it speaks had before

\* It has been contended that the bishops to whom the cause was to be remitted must be those of the appellant's province,—the same from whom the appeal was made. But this seems to be inconsistent with the Greek of c. 3.—διὰ τῶν γειτνιώντων τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ ἐπισκόπων—and with both the Greek and the Latin of c. 5.—τοῖς συνεπισκόποις τοῖς ἀγχιερέουσιν τῇ ἐπαρχίᾳ—"qui in finitima et propinqua provincia sunt." The words ἐπιγινώμονας παράσχει—"det iudices," seem to be explained by what is said as to the bishops and the legates—not meaning that the bishop of Rome could appoint a judicial

commission unlimited by any conditions.

<sup>y</sup> The conjecture "*illi* (hoc est *itali*)" for *Julio* (Hard. i. 639) appears to be quite unfounded, and is inconsistent with the Greek version. See Hefele, i. 541, who, however, resists the inference in the text, while he also opposes the extreme Roman view. i. 549, seqq.

<sup>z</sup> Mosh. i. 318; Schröckh, vi. 85; viii. 104; Planck, i. 640, 646; Giesel. I. ii. 196-9; Hussey, 7-12.

<sup>a</sup> De Marca, VIII. iii. 6; Still ngfl

214.

<sup>b</sup> Hard. i. 840-3.

belonged to the bishops of Rome, or was an ordinary prerogative of their office.<sup>c</sup>

The old Latin version of the Nicene canons, and Rufinus in his summary of them, define the jurisdiction of the Roman bishop as extending over the "suburbicarian churches."<sup>d</sup> The name of *suburbicarian* was given to the provinces which composed the civil diocese of Rome—the seven provinces of middle and lower Italy, with the islands of Corsica, Sardinia, and Sicily.<sup>e</sup> To these the patriarchate of Rome was then limited—Milan, Aquileia, and afterwards Ravenna, being independent centres of ecclesiastical government.<sup>f</sup> And since both language and historical facts combine to support this view, it is needless to consider seriously such constructions of the canon as that which would persuade us that by the "suburbicarian churches" were meant all those of the western empire, or even all the churches of the world! <sup>g</sup>

<sup>c</sup> Schröckh, viii. 111-12; xii. 140; Planck, ii. 643-4; Giesel. I. ii. 198; Hussey, 14.

<sup>d</sup> Hard. i. 329, 333; Rufin. Hist. Eccl. i. 6.

<sup>e</sup> Laud against Fisher, p. 203, ed. Anglo-cath. Lib.; Bingh. IX. i. 9-11; Schröckh, viii. 103; Giesel. I. ii. 195; Wiltsch, i. 75.

<sup>f</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 215. As to Ravenna, Tillem. xv. 190; Wiltsch, i. 86-7. With this agrees the request of the Sardican council to Julius, that he would make its proceedings known to the bishops of Sicily, Sardinia, and Italy. Hilar. Fragm. ii. 13 (Patrol. x.).

<sup>g</sup> See Baron. 325. 124, and the references, etc. in Gieseler, I. ii. 194. Equally bold is the interpretation by which Bellarmine makes the other words already quoted from the same canon (p. 433) to mean—not that the superiority of Alexandria is to be like that of Rome, but—that it had been the custom of the Roman bishops to

govern the Egyptian patriarchate by means of the bishops of Alexandria! (De Rom. Pontif. ii. 13. Opera, i. 641, ed. Colon. 1622.) Döllinger, admitting the limitation of the term *suburbicarian*, offers an ingenious explanation of the passage in Rufinus—that that writer means to speak of the immediate *metropolitan* power of Rome as it was in his own time, when the bishop had transferred to vicars the metropolitan authority over all but the suburbicarian provinces—the *papal* power being (as Dr. von Döllinger supposes) all the while distinct from the patriarchal or metropolitan power, and not coming into contemplation here. (i. 191; comp. Hefele, i. 379, seqq.) By such distinctions the more discerning of late writers in the Roman interest would explain many other things which are usually supposed to tell against the papacy. But in those things themselves no such distinction appears. There is, for example, no ground for saying that the bishops of

The interference of the Roman bishop was still resisted whenever he attempted to invade the privileges of other churches. The African and the eastern churches acted throughout in entire independence of the Roman authority,<sup>b</sup> and frequent canons were made against carrying causes out of the provinces to which they belonged. There was no idea of any divine right of superiority to other churches; for, although it was often said that the bishop of Rome ought to be honoured as the successor of St. Peter, that apostle himself was not yet regarded as more than the first among equals, nor were his successors supposed to have inherited any higher distinction above their brethren in the episcopate.<sup>i</sup>

(7.) From the time of Constantine the members of the Christian ministry attained a new social position, with secular advantages which had until then been unknown. The exemption from curial offices, which was granted to them by the first Christian emperor, was, indeed, withdrawn or limited by his successors;<sup>k</sup> but

Ravenna, while resisting the bishop of Rome as patriarch, admitted his authority over them as pope. And the theory comes altogether too late.

<sup>b</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 203-4. See Sozomen, iii. 8, where some of the orientals tell Julius, that, as the eastern church had not interfered with the Roman in the matter of Novatian, so he ought not to dictate to them. Also the conduct of St. Basil, in Tillem. viii. 403; Barrow, 353; Giesel. I. ii. 205-6, etc.

<sup>i</sup> See the interpretations of St. Matt. xvi. 18-19, by writers of this time, in Gieseler, I. ii. 209-12. A remarkable negative evidence against the papal claims may be found in St. Jerome, Ep. cxxv. 15, where submission to one head is enforced on monks by the instinctive habits of beasts, bees, and cranes, the contentions of Esau and Jacob, of Romulus and Remus, the oneness of an emperor in his dominions, of a judge in

his province, of a master in his house, of the pilot in a ship, of the general in an army, of the bishop, the arch-presbyter, and the archdeacon in a church; but where, on the Roman theory, we should look for the crown of argument in the one universal bishop, there is no mention of any such head as existing. [Pius II., borrowing some of the comparisons, uses them as an argument for the pope's supremacy. 'Bulla Retractationum,' prefixed to his works.]

<sup>k</sup> See p. 258. Julian recalled the clergy who had been exempt to perform their curial duties (Cod. Theod. XII. i. 50). Theodosius says in 383—"Curiales qui ecclesiis malunt servire quam curiis, contemnant illa quæ subtrahunt," etc. (Ib. 104.) In 386 he compelled the curial clergy to pay for substitutes in the civil offices to which they were liable (ib. 115); he declares



they enjoyed a valuable privilege in their freedom from all "sordid" offices,<sup>1</sup> and from some of the public imposts, although still liable to the land-tax, and to most of the ordinary burdens.<sup>m</sup> The taxes to be paid by ecclesiastics who were engaged in trade were regulated by laws of Constantius, Valentinian, and Gratian; and from the fact that such laws were passed, rather than a prohibition of trading, it may probably be inferred that resources of this kind were still necessary for the support of some among the clergy.<sup>n</sup> The wealth of the body, however, was vastly increased. Constantine, besides munificent occasional gifts, bestowed on them a stated allowance of corn, which was revoked by Julian. Jovian restored a third part of this, and promised to add the rest when the cessation of a famine then raging should enable him to do so; but his reign ended before he could fulfil his

those who had been ordained before his second consulship to be exempt as to their patrimony, but requires those whose ordination was later to give up all. (Ib. 121.) Innocent, bishop of Rome in 404, orders that *curiales* shall not be ordained, because trouble might arise from the emperor's afterwards requiring their services, and in their civil office they would have to exhibit spectacles of diabolical origin. (Ep. ii. c. 11; Patrol. xx.) By a law of Valentinian III., A.D. 439, such persons were at ordination to share their property with their children, if they had any, reserving only one share for themselves; if childless, they were to give up two-thirds to the municipal body of their town. Cod. Theod. Novell. 38 (t. vi. app. p. 16); cf. Cod. Theod. XII. i. 49, 123, etc.; Cod. Justin. Novell. cxxiii. 15; Bingh. V. iii. 13-16; Planck, i. 291.

<sup>1</sup> Constantius in Cod. Theod. XVI. ü. 10, 14-15. For the definition of such offices, see the Cod. Theod. i. iv. 128-9.

<sup>m</sup> Gratian, A.D. 382, in Cod. Theod. XI. xvi. 15; Bingh. V. iii.; Planck, i. 293-6. Constantine at first exempted them from the land tax, but afterwards re-imposed it (sup. p. 259); his successors varied in the manner of levying it. The synod of Rimini met with an absolute refusal from Constantius when they attempted to obtain an exemption. (Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 15.) When St. Ambrose says that the church-lands pay tribute, Baronius endeavours to show that the clergy had a divine right of exemption from taxes, and that their payments were merely voluntary! 387. 11, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 10, 14; Schröckh, vi. 17; viii. 7-10. It was not until A.D. 452, under Valentinian III., that the clergy were forbidden by the imperial law to trade. (Cod. Theod. Nov. 12, t. vi. Append.) The African council of A.D. 419 (c. 52) ordered that "*Clericus victum et vestimentum sibi ab artificio vel agricultura absque officii sui duntaxat detrimento præparet.*"

intention, and the promise was disregarded by his successors.<sup>o</sup> Tithes were now paid—not, however, by legal compulsion, but as a voluntary offering,<sup>p</sup> so that we need not wonder to find complaints of difficulty and irregularity in the payment;<sup>q</sup> and a very great addition of riches flowed in on the church in consequence of the law of Constantine which allowed it to receive bequests of property.<sup>r</sup>

These changes naturally operated for evil as well as for good. For the sake of the secular benefits connected with the ministry, many unfit persons sought ordination;<sup>s</sup> while the higher dignities of the church became objects of ambition for men whose qualifications were not of a spiritual kind. At the election of a bishop, unworthy arts were employed by candidates; accusations which, whether true or false, give no agreeable idea of the prevailing tone of morals, were very commonly brought by each faction against the favourite of its opponents; and disgraceful tumults often took place.<sup>t</sup>

The intercourse of courts was a trial for the bishops; while in many it naturally produced subserviency,<sup>u</sup> in others it led to a mistaken exaltation of spiritual dignity in opposition to secular rank. Thus, it is told with admiration that St. Martin of Tours, when at the court of Maximus, allowed the empress to wait on him at

<sup>o</sup> Theod. iv. 4; Tillem. Emp. iv. 587.

<sup>p</sup> Walter, 513. <sup>q</sup> Bingham. V. v. 3.

<sup>r</sup> P. 260; Planck, i. 279-82.

<sup>s</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 308; Planck, i. 333.

<sup>t</sup> Chrysost. de Sacerdot. iii. 15; Stephens, Life of Chrysostom, 51. Gibbon (ii. 176) says that the income of a bishop varied from two to thirtypounds of gold, and that the average was about £600 sterling. In order to check the ambition of bishops, many canons were made against translation (*e.g.*, Can. Nic. 15; Antioch. 21; Sardic. 1); but without much effect. (Bingh.

VI. iv. 6; Neand. iii. 217. See above, p. 375.) The 27th of the canons which pass under the name of the fourth council of Carthage (A.D. 398), and which are supposed to be partly the work of that council, and partly a collection of African canons in force about the time when it was held (Tillem. xiii. 982-5; Schröckh, viii. 196)—forbids that bishops be translated from motives of ambition, but allows translation when it may be for the benefit of the church.

<sup>u</sup> Giesel. I. ii. 175-6, 312.

table;<sup>x</sup> and that, when the emperor had desired him to drink first, and expected to receive the cup back from him, the bishop passed it to his own chaplain, as being higher in honour than any earthly potentate.<sup>y</sup>

Luxury and pride increased among the clergy of the great cities. St. Jerome agrees with Ammianus Marcellinus as to the excessive pomp by which the Roman hierarchy was distinguished, the splendour of their dress and equipages, the sumptuousness of their feasts; while the heathen historian bears a testimony which is above suspicion to the contrast presented by the virtue, simplicity, and self-denial of the provincial bishops and clergy in general.<sup>z</sup> Prætextatus, an eminent pagan magistrate, who was concerned in suppressing the feuds of Damasus and Ursicinus, sarcastically told Damasus that he himself would forthwith turn Christian, if he might have the bishoprick of Rome.<sup>a</sup> The emperors found it necessary to restrain by law the practices of monks and clergy for obtaining gifts and legacies. Thus Valentinian, by a law which was addressed to Damasus, and was read in all the churches of the capital,<sup>b</sup> enacted that ecclesiastics and monks should not haunt the houses of widows or of female wards; and that they should not accept anything by donation or will from women who were connected with them by spiritual ties.<sup>c</sup> Jerome, who draws many lively pictures of the base devices by which some of his brethren insinuated themselves into the favour of wealthy and aged persons, says, with refer-

<sup>x</sup> Sulp. Sev. Dialog. ii. 6 (Patrol. xx.).

<sup>y</sup> Id. de Vita Martini, c. 20. This is said to have been repeated by a bishop of Nocera, at the court of the emperor Frederick II. Raumer, *Gesch. der Hohenstaufen*, iii. 290.

<sup>z</sup> Amm. Marc. xxvii. 3; Hieron. Ep. liii., &c.

<sup>a</sup> Hieron. adv. Joh. Hierosol. 8

(Patrol. xxiii.).

<sup>b</sup> Hence Baronius (370. 123) professes to think that it was probably solicited by Damasus!

<sup>c</sup> A.D. 370. Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 30. It is to be observed that the law was directed against individuals, not against the church. Nat. Alex. vii. 150.

ence to this edict, "I do not complain of the law, but I grieve that we should have deserved it."<sup>d</sup> Other acts followed, annulling all dispositions of property which women on professing a religious life might make to the prejudice of their natural heirs, and guarding against the evasions which might be attempted by means of fictitious trusteeships.<sup>e</sup> Such bequests were, however, discouraged and often refused by the more conscientious bishops, such as St. Ambrose and St. Augustine.<sup>f</sup> And while we note the facts which show how in this age, as in every other, the church but too truly realized those parables which represent it as containing a mixture of evil amidst its good, we must not overlook the noble spirit of munificence and self-denial which animated multitudes of its bishops and clergy, or their exertions in such works of piety and charity as the relief of the poor, the redemption of captives, the erection of hospitals, and the adornment of the divine worship.<sup>g</sup>

(8.) The changes of the fourth century tended to depress the popular element in the church.<sup>h</sup> By the acknowledgment of their religion on the part of the state, by the increase of wealth, by their intercourse with personages of the highest rank, by the frequency of synods collected from large divisions of the church, and limited to their own order,<sup>i</sup> by the importance which accrued to them when questions of theology entered into politics, and agitated the whole empire—the bishops were raised to a greater elevation than before above the

<sup>d</sup> Ep. lii. 6. So St. Ambrose, in his answer to Symmachus (Ep. xviii. 14), after comparing the state of the clergy with that of the heathen priesthood—"Quod sacerdotibus fani legaverit Christiana vidua, valet; quod ministris Dei, non valet. Quod ego non ut querar, sed ut sciant quid non querar, comprehendendi; malo enim nos pecunia minores esse quam ratia." See Giese

l. ii. 173, 309.

<sup>e</sup> Theodos. in Cod. Theod. XVI. ii. 27-8, &c.; Schröckh, viii. 11-12.

<sup>f</sup> Ambros. in Luc. lib. viii. 77, 79; Aug. Sermon. 355; Possidius, 24.

<sup>g</sup> Neand. ii. 193-4; Giesel. I. ii. 313.

<sup>h</sup> Schröckh, viii. 42.

<sup>i</sup> Planck, i. 372.

other orders of the clergy.<sup>k</sup> The administration of the church was more thrown into their hands; and in the election of bishops the influence of the order became greater, chiefly in consequence of the factions of the people. Thus, when a vacant see was disputed by exasperated parties, it often happened that the prelates whose business it was to ratify the election, suggested a third candidate by way of compromise, and that their nomination was accepted.<sup>l</sup> In some cases the election, instead of being held in the city for which a bishop was to be appointed, was transferred to the metropolis of the province.<sup>m</sup> The privilege of choice, which was often injudiciously used by the multitude,<sup>n</sup> was gradually limited by canons which fixed the qualifications for the episcopate.<sup>o</sup> And, although the right of voting was not yet restricted to persons of superior station,<sup>p</sup> the emperor swayed the elections to the greater sees—especially those of the cities in which he resided—and sometimes directly nominated the bishops.<sup>q</sup>

(9.) The orders of the ministry remained as before, but it was not usual to proceed regularly through the lower grades to the higher. Thus we find that very commonly

<sup>k</sup> See Hieron. Ep. lii. 7. Some of the canons of the fourth council of Carthage (see p. 438, n. 1) are intended to protect the presbyters against the assumptions of their superiors as well as of their inferiors. Thus, a bishop must not suffer a presbyter to stand while he himself is seated (34); in church, and in ecclesiastical assemblies, he is to sit above presbyters, but "intra domum" he is to remember that he is their colleague (35); the deacons are to understand that they are servants of the presbyters as well as of the bishop (27), and are not to sit down without leave of the presbyters (39).

<sup>l</sup> Gibbon, ii. 171; Planck, i. 439-42. Sometimes the bishops proposed a car-

didate at first, but the people insisted on having another. No bishop was in any case to be intruded on an orthodox flock. Bingham, IV. ii. 4; Neand. iii. 216.

<sup>m</sup> Planck, i. 447.

<sup>n</sup> The council of Laodicea, A.D. 372 (?) c. 13, orders that the choice of persons for the *ἐπαρχεῖον* (i.e. either the episcopate alone, or the priesthood and the episcopate—see Hefele, i. 734) shall not be allowed, τοῖς ὄχλοις.

<sup>o</sup> Gibbon, ii. 171.

<sup>p</sup> This is the opinion of Bingham, IV. ii. 8. See Planck, i. 446-8; and below, Book III. c. viii. sect. 1.

<sup>q</sup> Bingham, IV. ii. 16; Giesel, I. ii. 182; Planck, i. 262-3; Milman, n. on Gibbon, ii. 172.

deacons were raised to the episcopate, or readers to the presbyterate, without passing through even a symbolical ordination to the intermediate offices;<sup>r</sup> and we have seen in the instances of Ambrose and Nectarius that even unbaptized persons were chosen for bishops, and, after receiving baptism, were advanced at once to the highest order of the ministry.<sup>s</sup>

The practice of forcible ordinations was a remarkable feature of this age. The only expedient by which a person could protect himself against the designs of a bishop or a congregation who considered him fit for spiritual office, was that of swearing that he would not submit to be ordained; for it was thought that one who had taken an oath of this kind ought not to be compelled to forswear himself.<sup>t</sup> When the custom of such ordinations had been introduced, reluctance to undertake the ministerial function was often feigned for the purpose of gaining importance.<sup>u</sup> Both forced ordinations and the hasty promotion of neophytes were after a time forbidden by canons and by imperial edicts,<sup>x</sup> in some of which a curious distinction was made between the case of bishops who had been ordained without their own consent, and that of presbyters or lower clergy in like circumstances. The latter were allowed to renounce their orders; but this liberty was denied to the bishops, on the ground that none were really worthy of the episcopate but such as were chosen against their will.<sup>y</sup> In the fifth century, ordination began to be employed as a means of disqualifying persons who had been unfortunate in political life for taking any further part in the public affairs of the

<sup>r</sup> Tillem. ix. 67.

<sup>s</sup> Pp. 376, 380; Tillem. ix. 65; Bingham. IV. x. 4-7.

<sup>t</sup> Bingham. IV. vii. 1-2; Gibbon, ii. 173. See Basil. Ep. clxxvi. 10; Aug. Ep. 125-6.

<sup>u</sup> Giesel. I. § 312.

<sup>x</sup> Can. Sardic. 13; Siric. Ep. iii. (Hard. i. 856); Tillem. x. 360; Neand. iii. 214.

<sup>y</sup> Leo et Anthem. A.D. 469, Cod. Just. I. iii. 31; Conc. Aurel. III. A.D. 538, c. 7; Bingham. IV. viii. 3-4; Schröckh, xvi. 326.



world. Some of the latest emperors of the west were set aside by this expedient.<sup>a</sup>

(10.) The influence of the monastic spirit tended to advance the practice of celibacy among the clergy, and the opinion of its obligation. At the council of Nicæa, it was proposed that married bishops, presbyters, and deacons should be compelled to abstain from intercourse with their wives; <sup>a</sup> but Paphnutius, an Egyptian bishop, strongly opposed the motion. He dwelt on the holiness of Christian marriage, and represented the inexpediency of imposing on the clergy a yoke which many of them might be unable to bear, and which might therefore become the occasion of sin, and injurious to the church. It was, he said, enough to adhere to the older law, by which marriage after the reception of the higher orders was forbidden. The argument was strengthened by the character of the speaker. He was honoured as a confessor, having lost his right eye and had his left thigh hamstrung in the last persecution; he had a high reputation for sanctity, so that he was even supposed to possess miraculous power; <sup>b</sup> his motives were above suspicion, as he himself lived in celibacy and strict asceticism. Under his guidance, therefore, the council rejected the proposal; <sup>c</sup> and the example thus set by the most revered of ecclesiastical assemblies was followed in other quarters. Thus, the council of Gangra,<sup>d</sup> which was held chiefly for the consideration of the errors imputed to Eustathius of

<sup>a</sup> This was the case of Avitus, A.D. 456, and of Glycerius, A.D. 475. Gibbon, iii. 299, 330.

<sup>a</sup> The proposal was probably made by Hosius, as it agrees with a canon of the council of Illiberis, at which he had been present. See p. 251; Theiner, i. 84; Giesel. I. ii. 255.

<sup>b</sup> Rufin. i. 4.

<sup>c</sup> Soc. i. 11; Soz. i. 23. Baronius 325. 50) is very angry with these his-

torians for their account of the affair, and Stiltinck argues very desperately against the truth of the story. (Acta SS., Sept. 11, p. 786.) In favour of it, see Hefele, i. 417-18.

<sup>d</sup> Some place this as early as 325; Gieseler, between 362 and 370 (I. ii. 245). See n. on Socr. ii. 43; Labbe, ii. 419; Hard. i. 529; Schröckh, v. 238-42; Neand. iii. 346; Hefele, i. 764-5.

Sebaste,<sup>e</sup> condemns, among other extravagances connected with this subject, the refusal to communicate with married priests.<sup>f</sup> And in the eastern churches generally, although the practice of celibacy or of abstinence from conjugal intercourse became usual, it continued to the end of the century to be voluntary.<sup>g</sup>

In the west, an important step towards the establishment of celibacy was taken by Siricius, in his decretal epistle of the year 385, addressed to Himerius, bishop of Tarragona.<sup>h</sup> After stating that some clergymen had had children, and had defended themselves by pleading the Mosaic law, he argues that the cases are unlike, inasmuch as among the Jews the priesthood was hereditary, whereas among Christians it is not so; and further that, as the Jewish priests separated themselves from their wives during the periods of ministering in the temple, so for the Christian clergy, who are always on duty, the separation must be perpetual. He ordered that presbyters and deacons should abstain from their wives; that such as had before violated this rule through ignorance should be allowed to retain their places, but on condition of observing continence, and without the hope of promotion; that if any one attempted to defend the contrary practice, he should be deposed; that no man who had married a widow, or who had been more than once married,<sup>i</sup> should be eligible to the ministry; and that clergy con-

Walch supposes that the council was held before Eustathius became a bishop. iii. 543-6.

<sup>f</sup> Can. iv. ap. Hard. 533. Gregory Nazianzen speaks of persons who, by way of excuse for deferring their baptism, pretended that they could not submit to receive it at the hands of a married bishop or presbyter. (Orat. xl. 26.) This, as Theiner (i. 242) observes, is a proof how common marriage was among the eastern clergy.

<sup>g</sup> Soc. v. 22; Schröckh, viii. 21-2; Theiner, i. 241; Giesel. I. ii. 260.

<sup>h</sup> See p. 432.

<sup>i</sup> It was a question whether a clerk who had married once before and once after baptism were a bigamist. St. Jerome (Ep. lxix. 2) decides in the negative; but his editors observe that the western authorities (such as Innocent I. and Leo I.) were generally on the other side. See Gratian, Dist. xxvi. (Patrol. clxxxvii.).

tracting such marriages should be deposed.<sup>k</sup> The frequency of enactments in pursuance of this decretal, and the mitigations of its provisions which some of them contain, indicate that great difficulty was found in enforcing it; and this inference is amply supported by other facts.<sup>l</sup>

In proportion as the marriage of ecclesiastics was discouraged, the practice of entertaining female companions or attendants in their houses increased.<sup>m</sup> The council of Nicæa enacted that no women should be admitted in this capacity, except such as from near relationship or from age might be regarded as beyond suspicion of improper familiarity with the clergy.<sup>n</sup>

<sup>k</sup> Hard. i. 849-50.

<sup>l</sup> Theiner, i. 252, 263; Giesel. I. ii. 258.

<sup>m</sup> Hieron. Ep. xxii. 14; Theiner, i. 382, seqq.

<sup>n</sup> Can. 3. See Suicer, s. v. *συνελσ-σакτος*. From a misunderstanding of the words *subintroducā mulierem* in the translation, it was supposed during the middle ages that this canon was directed against the *marriage* of the clergy. (See the defence of the first Roman council under Gregory VII. in Hard. vi. 1532.) The idea of referring the prohibition of marriage to apostolical authority is an invention of the later Romanists. (Giesel. I. ii. 257.) The Oxford annotator on Fleury (i. 182) gives a highly ingenious account of the matter. "Earnestness and persecution seem at first to have superseded the need of canons, and all

but readers and singers observed continence. But no sooner had Constantine granted the Christians in Spain liberty of worship, A.D. 306, than we find a council at Eliberis, A.D. 309, requiring continence of all clerks;" and the other regulations of the century are represented as occasioned by the laxity which followed when persecution had come to an end. Thus a view which had been put forth by Romanist writers in the way of argument, is repeated by one who, when he wrote, was still nominally a member of the English church, as if it were a statement of uncontested facts, and without any hint even that there is a question as to the date of the Spanish council; although the most probable opinion on this point would of itself be enough to destroy his theory, by placing the council before the edict of toleration.



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